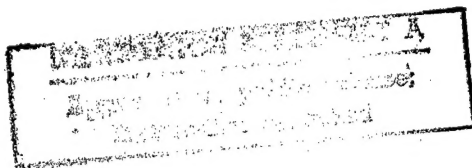


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JPRS-EPS-84-050

18 April 1984



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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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RESULTS OF PRZEMYSL PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Account of Proceedings

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 12 Jan 84 pp 1,4

[Report by Wacław Burzmiński, Mieczysław Nyczek, Henryk Pasławski and Witold Szymczyk: "We Consistently Continue the Line of Struggle, Accord and Reforms; Zenon Czech Re-Elected First Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee" under the rubric "Province PZPR Reports-Elections Conference in Przemyśl"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(OWN REPORTAGE) The Fifth Province PZPR Reports-Elections Conference deliberating in Przemyśl on 11 [Jan 1984] culminated the reports-elections campaign within all party elements in Przemyśl Province that lasted since last October, while at the same time culminating the 2.5-year period of implementing the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress. This has been a period of consistent implementation of the line, formulated at the 9th Congress, of struggle, accord and reforms, which was and remains the basis for the ideological-political and organizational strengthening of the ranks of the province party organization, which currently has 18,500 members and candidate members./

At yesterday's conference, which deliberated under the slogan /"The Party Leads and Serves the Working People,/" 256 delegates took part. The participants also included: Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the PZPR's Central Audit Commission; Stanisław Wołoszyn, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission; Jerzy Ślabicki, deputy director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Div Gen Włodzimierz Oliwa, minister of administration and territorial economy; and Prof Julian Rejdach, director of the Regional Planning Bureau at the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers. Also invited to the conference were: Roman Szarek, chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Province Committee; Franciszek Herman, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Province Committee; Józef Galant, chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Province Committee; Jerzy Mastalerczyk, chairman of the Province People's Council, members of the

Province Bloc of Deputies to the Parliament and delegates to the 9th PZPR Congress.

Longtime worker movement activists were cordially greeted. Deceased comrades were honored with a moment of silence.

The opening of the working part of the Conference was preceded by the elections of chairpersons of deliberations. This function was exercised in shifts by: Adam Witek, delegate from Orly; Boleslaw Zoellner, delegate from Sieniawa; and Adam Lazar, delegate from Lubaczow.

After the rules for deliberations were accepted and their legitimacy confirmed, the conference participants listened to the report presented by Zenon Czech, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee /(its highlights are published on p 3)/. The speaker addressed to the invited worker movement activists and honored veterans of struggle and labor, words of profound esteem, recognition and gratitude for many years of sacrificial work and toil contributed to translating socialist ideas into reality. Expressions of gratitude also were addressed toward the party aktiv and secretaries of party echelons and organizations for their united effort accounting for the achievements scored during the years 1981-1983.

The report became--along with the reports of the PZPR Province Committee, the Province Audit Commission and the Province Party Control Commission, as well as the report of the Przemysl Province Governor on the status of the implementation of tasks in principal socio-economic fields--the starting point for discussion. During the first part of the discussion, the floor was taken successively by: Zdzislaw Modras, director of the Combined Gmina [Parish] School in Pruchnik; Mieczyslaw Kaminski, farmer of Pikulice (Przemysl Gmina); Tadeusz Mazur, brigade leader at the Jaroslaw Glass Factory; Anna Kowalska, first secretary of the Dynow City-Gmina PZPR Committee; Stanislaw Sobczuk, first secretary of the Przemysl City PZPR Committee; Karol Cieklinski, lathe operator and brigade leader at the SPOMASZ Food Machinery Factory in Kanczuga; Wladyslaw Dziedzic, director of MOK [expansion unknown] and chairman of the Przeworsk City PRON Council; Boleslaw Gimiewicz, farmer of Puchacze Village (Horyniec Gmina); Edward Dziadula, chief of the city and gmina of Cieszanow; and Tadeusz Brytan, director of the Medyka State Farm.

Also speaking at the conference were R. Szarek and F. Herman, who, on behalf of the ZSL and SD province committees, conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes to the representatives of the province party organization, expressing the support declared by the members of their own parties for strengthening the partnership between the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD--a partnership deepened in recent years--in solving the most vital social and economic problems of the province and its inhabitants. The conference's presidium received numerous telegrams with wishes for fruitful deliberations from, among others, the leadership of the Rzeszow Province PZPR Committee.

Already in the first few hours of the conference the election of the first secretary of the province party organization was commenced. The election commission formed by the delegates recommended for this post Comrade Zenon Czech,

who also was the recipient of the recommendation by the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, presented at the conference by Comrade Włodzimierz Mokrzy-szczak. Since no other candidates were nominated by the delegates, the conference unanimously resolved to close the slate of candidates. Zenon Czech was re-elected by secret ballot to the post of first secretary of the Przemyśl Province PZPR Committee, by 253 of the 256 delegates present at the conference. The announcement met with applause from the conference participants.

Prior to the afternoon intermission, elections of other party officers took place. Eighty-one members and 15 candidate members of the PZPR Province Committee were elected by secret ballot, as were 31 members of the Province Audit Commission and 31 members of the Province Party Control Commission.

[Inset--Election Results]

Secretariat of the Przemyśl Province PZPR Committee: first secretary of the Province PZPR Committee, Zenon Czech, plus Province Committee secretaries: Lesław Chowanski, Marian Domaradzki, Zdzisław Januszewski, Ryszard Turko.

Executive Board of the Province PZPR Committee: Ryszard Bocian, chairman of the Młyn RSP [Labor Cooperative]; Emil Chomicki, heavy equipment operator at the Zurawice PKP [Polish State Railroads] Station; Lesław Chowanski, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee; Zenon Czech, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee; Marian Domaradzki, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee; Stanisława Fabisiak, director of the SPOLEM SDH [expansion unknown] in Jarosław; Aleksander Ferenc, foreman at the Przeworsk WSK; Antoni Gwoździ, farmer of Jarosław Gmina; Zdzisław Januszewski, PZPR Province Committee secretary; Zbigniew Klein, department head at the Province General Hospital in Przemyśl; Hanna Kowalska, first secretary of the Dynów City-Gmina PZPR Committee; Józef Milejski, commander of the Bieszczada Brigade of the Frontier Guards (WOP); Czesław Palczak, director of the Combined Gmina School in Lubaczów; Stanisław Pominkiewicz, driver at the Przemyśl/O PKS [State Motor Transport] Station; Bronisław Świerbut, PKP pensioner; Ryszard Turko, PZPR Province Committee secretary; Andrzej Wojciechowski, Przemyśl Province governor. [End of inset]

Following the intermission the discussion was resumed. The floor was taken by the following comrades: Franciszek Szymanski, inspector of education and upbringing; Józef Pniewski, farmer of Hadle Szklarskie Village (Jawornik Polski Gmina); Jerzy Tchorzewski, chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] Province Committee; Zbigniew Klein, head of the department for nervous diseases at the Province General Hospital; Eugeniusz Dabek, chairman of the PZPR Province Audit Commission; Bronisław Świerbut, PKP pensioner from Przemyśl; Michał Stochmanski, brigade leader at the JARLAN ZPD Works in Jarosław; Józef Chorzepa, deputy chief of the WUSW [Province Office of Internal Affairs]; Czesław Czereba, chairman of the Pelkinie RSP Board; Tadeusz Mirek, farmer of Korzeniecka Wola (Bircza Gmina); and Andrzej Wojciechowski, Szczecin Province Governor. By the decision of a majority of the delegates the discussion was therewith closed. Other comments (48

delegates registered for the discussion) were directly included in the minutes of the meeting.

In the late hours of the evening the floor was also taken by Comrade Włodzimierz Mokrzyński / (his speech will be discussed in tomorrow's edition) /.

The first plenary sessions were held yesterday by the newly elected province audit and party control commissions. The Executive Board and Secretariat of the Province Committee were elected, along with a 7-member presidium of the Province Audit Commission (with Eugeniusz Dabek re-elected as its chairman) and a 7-member presidium of the Province Party Control Commission (with Mieczysław Choma elected as its chairman).

As this edition went to print, the deliberations of the conference in Przemyśl still continued.

Photo: In the first row, starting at right: Zenon Czech, first secretary of the Przemyśl Province PZPR Committee; Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee; Ryszard Turko, secretary of the Przemyśl Province PZPR Committee; Gen Div Włodzimierz Oliwa, minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection; Andrzej Wojciechowski, Przemyśl Province Governor.

First Secretary's Speech

Rzeszów NOWINY in Polish 12 Jan 84 p 3

[Report (summary) presented by Zenon Czech, first secretary of the Przemyśl Province PZPR Committee: "Specific Actions in Behalf of Working People Hasten the Recovery of Credibility and Trust"]

[Text] The common denominator of our actions was--and invariably remains--the line of struggle and accord formulated by the 9th Extraordinary Congress. This is a struggle for our own party, for its Marxist-Leninist ideological outlook, vanguard status and recognition by people. This also is a struggle for socialism, for action in behalf of justice, in the interest of the working class, as well as for resisting all those who attempt to endanger the working people, sow unrest and strike at the foundations of the legal order of our socialism. At the same time we welcome all and desire an accord with everyone who admits the fundamental validity of the good of the working man, the good of the fatherland in its socialist shape, and peace.

The line of renewal, struggle and accord is the greatest capital accruing to the Polish United Workers Party from the difficult history lesson of recent years. Tremendous changes have occurred in the party's internal life. Nowadays we say that the party, while the same, still is not the same. We emerged from the difficult period of the first 3 years of the 1980's with a considerable baggage of new experience. We learned to work differently with the people and for the people, we have become closer to the working class and we try to

respond better to the needs of working people. We assumed the duty. We assumed a duty ensuing from the objective laws of the socialist path of development.

In its report the Province Committee declared that, while numerically smaller, the province's party still is represented in sufficient strength in the principal socio-occupational communities in order to set the tone of political work and exercise its leading role in them. This requires consistency in fulfilling the obligations resting on both entire party collectives and individual party members. Party organizations increasingly establish their presence in communities through specific work. The doors of party committees and POP [branch party organization] secretaries stand open to anyone needing help regardless of whether his problems relate to his job, social issues or personal matters. The party aktiv and functionaries do not avoid meetings and discussions with workers, farmers or groups of the intelligentsia, and often they themselves organize and initiate them. The members of the party authorities--party functionaries--attend more often than in the past meetings and encounters in workplaces, in the countryside and in other milieux. The system for gathering and settling proposals, claims and complaints received from party and non-party members has been expanded on an unprecedented scale.

The 13th Central Committee Plenum has explicitly clarified

What Is Our Party To Be Like

in the organizational and ideological sense, and what party members should be like. Let us pose several questions relating to the resolutions of the 13th Plenum, which we shall attempt to answer for ourselves during the discussion. What is as yet the situation at certain party organizations as regards internal discipline, attendance of meetings and the fulfillment of individual party assignments? How much formalism still persists in the party's activities? Are all party members, including the entire aktiv as well, by now capable of courageously defending their party and combatting anti-socialist demagoguery by using appropriate arguments derived from well-organized party training and their own political self-education? We used to make the criticism that we know how to adopt just and wise programs but there is no consistency in implementing them. We should not allow a repetition of this error. Party resolutions affect all party members and one cannot select from them only what one likes. This would directly lead to opportunism and negate the mandatory, statutory principle of democratic centralism. An ideology-minded and class-oriented approach to problems and the awareness of the ongoing class struggle should be part and parcel of our quotidian work, of our contacts with people and at home. There should be no room for the humbug and arrogance manifested by some, which complicate contact with real life and its evolution.

It is our political duty to spread socialist awareness among the masses. It is precisely we who should strike at the enemy and isolate him instead of merely remaining on the defensive. One important front of that offensive should also be the struggle for a socialist world outlook, for preserving the secular nature of the state. Our society is differentiated in outlook, with Catholicism being particularly widespread. We even have believers among our party members, and that also is something we should not close our eyes to. We

realize that the road toward the secularization of our society still remains very long. However, like most of the countries of East and West, ours also is a secular state system, with secular institutions, administration and schools. This fact must be recognized by every citizen without exception. Anyone who denies and violates this principle--and such instances do happen--anyone who exploits religious feelings in order to propagate backward, reactionary awareness and promote aggressive clericalism, must be unmasked and aware of the legal consequences and results. This should be so in the name of objectively conceived freedom of conscience of the believers themselves as well.

We Are Active Among the Society

One reflection of the complicated crisis conditions of the present era is that not all the issues which the party poses and will pose to the society will be universally accepted. We should not either strive for so-called cheap popularity and undertake measures which, while meeting with enthusiastic acceptance at present, might produce fatal consequences in the near or far future. Instances of this kind already have happened. Party members must, as the need arises, be capable of patiently explaining this truth, teaching the society to think in economic terms of not only the present but also of the needs of the future.

At the 12th Central Committee Plenum, in response to public opinion, attention was paid to streamlining the struggle against speculation and dishonest amassing of wealth and tightening the monitoring of the operation of the private sector of trade, services and artisan trades, inclusive of the Polonia firms [companies founded in Poland by Western citizens of Polish origin]. We most certainly do not intend to restrict honest production initiatives. As a party we shall support them if they are of benefit to the working people. Together with the Democratic Party we have prepared a special program in this respect. But we should not tolerate anything that is aimed against the interests of the state and the citizens, anything that meets with justified resistance and engenders the feeling of injustice. We shall demand greater activism in combatting such phenomena of the party members employed in the administration, in the financial watchdog agencies and in the agencies investigating economic crimes.

Trade unions are a fundamental link between the party and the working class. The reality in our province is such that in the plants and occupational groups within which the party aktiv demonstrated a proper commitment the membership of trade-union organizations is growing at present and these organizations begin to operate flexibly and win increasing recognition among the workforces. In this respect one could single out the educational community as well as the Lubaczow Construction Machinery Plant, the Przemysl Furniture Works, the Makowisko State Farm and other places where from 45 to 70 or even 100 percent of the workforces belong to the unions. In their present shape, trade unions are ready for a businesslike partnership with the authorities, and they have repeatedly made this clear during various meetings and mutual contacts. But they have to be helped so that some of their just initiatives would not fizzle out, as the saying goes, in the absence of support and assistance in

translating them into reality. It is important to the province authorities that the trade unions be a strong, responsible and well-organized partner in the consultation upon and adoption of important decisions.

This is an election year for people's councils at the basic and province levels. These elections will be to the party an important criterion of its cohesiveness and ability to work with people. A common, patriotic electoral front offers a great chance for a national accord and the concentration of the attention and efforts of most Poles on the most vital national and local issues.

As we see it, the cooperation among our party and the ZSL and SD in this province is evolving correctly. On basic questions of concern to us all we have always reached a common position, and we adopt joint program planks and subsequently monitor jointly their implementation. The strength of elements of the Patriotic Front for National Rebirth is growing. The activities of social, women's, war veterans' and technical organizations are becoming more vigorous. It is the party's political task to guide this growing activism in the proper socialist direction. We must bear in mind that these organizations contain people to whom we can appeal and who should be noticed, organized for action and linked to the party and our ideology.

Of special importance to the party is the struggle for youth, for its convictions, mentality and active participation and presence in economic, social and political life. This also is of tremendous importance to the rising generation itself. Thus the socialist system of values should be consistently formed among youth. It should be pointed out to youth that the words, ideals and slogans which young people proclaim so willingly are actually present in our programs, that it is our party and the working class that provide the safeguards for a successful development of the rising generation.

It is extremely desirable for youth itself to accept the burden of solving on its own difficult and important problems in workplaces and at home. Let it be a struggle for quality of production, for averting the production decline, for a good organization and utilization of work time. There is no obstacle either to young people's viewing their workplaces as places of increased opportunities for obtaining resources for private home building--not just during work hours but also afterward. The workplace should be regarded not just as a place where one stays for 8 hours daily but also and primarily as a possibility for developing new values, reaching dreamed-of goals, obtaining satisfaction from well-fulfilled social and occupational duties. This should provide--as Comrade Jaruzelski declared at his new year's meeting with the press--the admission ticket to history to the current young generation.

Economic Tasks

The report materials of the Province Committee as well as of the Przemysl Province governor evaluated the implementation of economic tasks. The draft program of action, on the other hand, defined the directions of the tasks in discrete fields of the economy. The main front of struggle for the material

wellbeing of Poles, for society's support, for emerging from the present difficulties, runs through the sphere of the economy.

Here the fundamental prerequisite is the economic reform and its specific application. The only way out of the crisis is through an increase in output, improvements in its quality, reduction of production cost, thrift and conservation, and a good maximum utilization of work time. All this has to be accomplished through the effort of the workforces, efficient performance of managerial personnel and complete utilization of the existing production capacities. These tasks belong mainly in the competences of the administration as well as of the party members who hold executive posts in the economy--and the party shall exercise them. Let no one think that this means the party's interference with enterprise self-government or autonomy--such an accusation can be launched only by the political enemy. How else can the party exercise its leading role unless it takes a position or comments on the economic problems of greatest concern to the people?

We must emphatically condemn any distortions of the reform and manifestations of parochialism by individual enterprises which jack up prices to maximize their profits regardless of the interests of the user of their products, who is nothing else than our society, inclusive of the enterprise's workforce itself. It is truly high time for people to begin to be paid according to their labor instead of for reporting for work.

The party should also support the enterprises which promote self-government, foster initiative and explore the possibilities for expanding their output by utilizing their own potential and rights.

In our province we have a good and realistic program for housing construction. It is to be implemented by those to whom it is addressed, that is, by housing cooperatives, construction enterprises, and state and economic administration. But it is the party's business to make sure that the keys to apartments would be received by those who need them most because they are living in damp cellars, in attics and sometimes even in slums that are an insult to human dignity. Thus it is not only one's place in the queue that should be decisive to the allocation of housing but also and above all the feeling of social justice. We often employ the statement that some or other thousands of people are awaiting new apartments. Do we know how many of them are living in acceptable housing in the meantime, and how many on that list merely desire to improve their good housing conditions still further? As the province party organization, let us launch the slogan of getting people out of cellars and undertake, through the effort of party cadres, the initiative of building low-cost housing, perhaps of the Finnish type, in the province. Let us effectively inoculate with this way of thinking the housing cooperatives and work establishments. Such specific actions in the interest of the people are the best way of regaining credibility and trust in the party.

The party's interest in the development problems of the countryside and agriculture ensues both from general economic needs and from the agro-industrial nature of this province. We assess positively the progress made in this field during the period covered by the report. This is because crop

production was successfully increased and, as a result, the trend toward a decline in livestock population could be halted. The performance of state farms and agricultural producer cooperatives--the socialist sector, which should continue to be developed and strengthened--has markedly improved. Its share in the commercial output of agriculture is steadily growing. Increasingly better results also are being produced by agricultural circle cooperatives.

Land Utilization and Improvement in the Infrastructure of the Frontier Region Should Be of Unremitting Concern

Side by side with the positive trends there exist domains in which so far no progress has been evident. This concerns improvements in the agrarian structure of farms, land reclamation and equipment maintenance. There has been a regression in land-integration work.

Shortcomings in agricultural supplies and services still continue. We find that too many losses still are sustained during the storage and processing of produce owing to the scarcity of proper facilities. This especially concerns milk processing. We cannot afford waste, lack of care for agricultural machinery and livestock pens and improper utilization of land. Constant attention should be paid to these problems during the new term of office of the province party echelon.

A priority problem in our activities was and remains concern for health care for the province's population. During the period covered by this report positive results could be achieved as regards improving both in- and out-patient medical facilities. The construction of the province hospital in Przemyśl was begun. The numbers of physicians and middle medical personnel have grown despite the basically unchanged size of the province's population. Thus there remains the question: Why is the health service and its functioning denigrated in many circles of society? After all, if the matter is analyzed, we are dealing neither with a low morale of physicians and all other medical personnel nor with the absence of desire to upgrade professional qualifications. There is only one conclusion--it is simply that the greatest possibilities for streamlining the performance of hospitals, infirmaries and health centers are harbored primarily in the organization of labor.

Proceeding from this premise, it is advisable to consider whether concern for man rather than parochial ministerial interests guides all the operators of health service posts and facilities.

The principle of rendering optimal service to the people should also be mandatory to the employees of all other public services. Quite a few complaints and comments exist about the performance of, e.g.: state and local motor transport organizations, the Polish State Railroads, or insurance institutions. It is understandable when a train arrives late because of damage to a worn track, or when a bus is provided behind schedule owing to shortages of tires or other spare parts, although such occurrences could be reduced to a minimum under an efficient management. But the arrogant attitude of the

functionaries of these organizations toward citizens can be neither justified nor tolerated. There, too, party members are present--both at managerial levels and in jobs involving direct contact with people. It is their role to influence proper attitudes among their co-workers and primarily to provide to them a personal example of proper approach to official duties.

Despite moments of vacillation and weakness, we are capable at present and in the future to continue the accomplishments of the party established 35 years ago at the Merger Congress. For now as then we are the force fighting for socialism, social justice and the material, social and cultural advancement of working people.

We have reached the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. May this jubilee be a period of profound political reflections to us older people as well as to youth. This period should become distinguished by sacrificial work for the Fatherland, resumption of socialist competition and initiation of the solution of many problems through the own efforts of individual communities themselves.

The celebrations of the 40th anniversary should promote patriotic and internationalist feelings, propagate ideas of friendship with the Soviet Union, spread our ideology more widely, and link the rising generation more strongly to the people's fatherland, socialism and our party.

Conclusion of Proceedings

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 13 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article by (mn): "Consistently, Tenaciously Translate Into Reality the Program of Party Action: From the Conclusion of the Deliberations of the Przemyśl Province PZPR Conference"]

[Text] /(Own information) At 2100 hours on Wednesday 11 [Jan 84], after 12 hours of deliberations, the Fifth Przemyśl Province Reports-Elections Conference came to an end. The conference approved the evaluation of crucial political and socio-economic problems presented in the report materials of the Province Committee, the Province Audit Commission and the Province Party Control Commission, as well as in the report presented for discussion by Zenon Czech, first secretary of the Province PZPR Committee. It was found that during the just-ended term of office of the province party organization its activities have become revived, that the consolidation and gradual resumption of growth of its membership continue, and the tasks ensuing from the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress and the previous province party conference are being consistently implemented./ [printed in boldface]

This opinion is consonant with the evaluation presented in the speech of Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, during the evening part of the conference. He stressed, among other things, the

significant contribution of the province party organization and echelon as well as of their leadership to the implementation of resolutions of the 9th Congress. /(His speech and the second half of the discussion are described on p 3 of this issue of NOWINY.)/ [printed in boldface]

Toward its end the conference adopted a program resolution listing the most important tasks in political and socio-economic work. It accepted the program of action of the province party organization as complemented with suggestions made during regional consultations with delegates as well as during the conference's deliberations. The resolution obligates all PZPR members and party echelons and organizations to implement this program consistently. Party elements should focus their activities on political work of the initiating and monitoring kind to promote the implementation of all program tasks. The resolution declares that the Province Committee will periodically evaluate the degree of implementation of these tasks. The delegates to the 5th Province Conference appealed to all working people in Przemysl Province for greater effort and commitment to implementing program tasks, particularly those relating to the sphere of socio-economic life.

The conference in Przemysl also adopted a resolution on the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. It expressed the conviction that the working people of Przemysl Province shall commemorate in a worthy manner the jubilee of the fatherland, without sparing effort to multiply the material and spiritual accomplishments of the nation in behalf of the further strengthening of socialist Poland.

On the proposal of Tadeusz Mazur, brigade leader at the Jaroslaw Glass Factory, the delegates voted a resolution to preserve peace. One sentence in that resolution runs as follows: "We support the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, which, reflecting the will and desire of their citizens and being supported by the desires of millions of people in every country in the world, in accordance with the highest ideals of socialism, continue the policy of detente and arms restriction. Acting in solidarity with the struggle of all peace-loving forces in the world, we demand the right to life--that most important right of every human being. We want to live and work in peace."

The deliberations were summed up by Zenon Czech, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, who expressed the conviction that the implementation of the tasks formulated by the conference will serve the cause of the party, the working class and the entire public of Przemysl Province. He stated, among other things: "We wish to attain the most urgent, realistic objectives that are most important from the standpoint of the interests of the working people and all other inhabitants of our province. This will be possible only if there is considerable commitment on the part of all party echelons and organizations, the entire aktiv and all party members. It is an urgent task to publicize the contents of the adopted resolutions among all communities, cities, villages and workplaces. It will be the job of the newly elected Province Committee and province party watchdog bodies to organize this work properly and make sure that all the planks in the party's program of action are implemented and made real consistently and tenaciously."

The conference ended with singing "The Internationale."

Mokrzyszczak's Speech

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 13 Jan 84 p 4

[Report: "Discussion of the Speech of Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak"]

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, recalled that the period covered by the report had commenced while the [economic] crisis was in its advanced stage and at the same time in a phase of counter-revolutionary actions in which the nature of the danger became increasingly clearer. The party perceived that danger, raised the alarm and undertook attempts at a political solution of the conflict situation. For various reasons, these activities produced no improvement. It was only the proclamation of the martial law that created the conditions for bringing order into the economy and developing constructive forms of social life.

Describing the principal problems that will be decisive to the further development of our country, the evolution of the socio-political and economic situation and the changes occurring within the party, W. Mokrzyszczak declared that special attention should be paid to three groups of problems:

--Effectiveness of application of the economic reform; the influence of that reform on overcoming the economic crisis; the market situation; levels of wages and cost of living; the material situation of working people;

--Growth of the trade-union movement, worker self-governments and other social organizations and associations, as well as their influence on the evolution of the line of national accord in the broadest meaning of the term;

--Course and effects of important political campaigns, including the current reports-elections campaign within the party, the approaching National Conference of Delegates to the PZPR Congress and the coming elections to people's councils.

Further, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak declared that the now-ending term of office of the province party organization has been difficult, as we acted under complicated socio-political and economic conditions. In evaluating our performance we must always consider what is awaiting us in the future and infer conclusions from recent history.

The Central Committee secretary also stated that many positive changes have taken place within the party. We are regaining the features of a militant and revolutionary party. The party is becoming reborn, returning to Marxist-Leninist canons of action and purging itself of ideologically alien influences. It is gaining new members--about 1,500 a month. Since August 1980 more than 52,000 candidate members were admitted. But the proportion of workers in the PZPR still is too low--39.7 percent. Also too low is the proportion of the rising generation in the party, and the deployment of the

party's forces in discrete socio-occupational communities is not uniform, with the rural population accounting for only a small part of party membership. From this ensues the specific task of stabilizing the organizational growth of the party while at the same time paying attention to the quality of its membership, rebuilding the party's worker core and assuring generational continuity in the development of the PZPR. W. Mokrzyszczak emphasized: "We continue to be a mass party: we have 2,200,000 members and candidate members. A growing number of comrades are abandoning the posture of waiting and passivity. We actively help the working people solve their problems and difficulties. We must develop broadly the forms of ideological work, because not all PZPR organizations can effectively combat the political enemy. Much effort should be focused on work with the basic party organizations, since the strength of the entire party depends on their activities."

W. Mokrzyszczak further stated: "We shall pay special attention to broadening our ties with the working people, the working class. The PZPR must steadily improve exercising its function of being the party of social justice, struggle and accord. Another important task is to support the initiatives of the trade-union movement, because the working class needs strong trade unions."

Discussing the country's economic situation, W. Mokrzyszczak pointed to, among other things, factors impeding the growth of production, including restrictions by Western countries. He said: "We have chiefly to rely on our own resources--and we can expect assistance solely from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The year 1984 will be another difficult year to our economy. But the adopted direction of action, in consonance with the line of the 9th Congress, is the best and sole road toward emerging from the crisis. A growing interest in the principles of the economic reform, from which there can be no turning back, is being observed."

"Despite the growth of industrial output, shortages of certain products still are being felt; problems with their quality also exist. Overcoming these negative phenomena is an important task to plant party organizations and to all party members, who should provide examples of good work."

1386

CSO: 2600/720

RESULTS OF LESZNO PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Account of Proceedings

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 13 Jan 84 p 2

[Article: "Conclusions Drawn From the Journey"]

[Text] The Provincial PZPR Reports-Elections Conference took place yesterday in Leszno. The 243 delegates representing over 27,000 party members in the province conducted a thorough evaluation of the activities of party structures and organizations in Leszno Province in the last 2 and 1/2 years. The conference set goals for the next term and elected new party leadership.

Among others, the following persons took part in yesterday's meeting: Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU [as published]; Halina Luniczak, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission; and Minister of Education Boleslaw Faron.

The conference was opened by the first secretary of the PZPR Leszno Provincial Committee, Jan Plociniczak, who stated in his introduction that the conference provided an opportunity for reflection on the road traveled by the provincial party organization since June 1981.

The discussion which followed lasted several hours and touched on many topics. It dealt with the democratization of party life, problems of agriculture in Leszno Province, and problems arising from the implementation of economic reform. A lot of time was devoted to the discussion of educational problems, upbringing of the young generation, the need for national understanding, the role of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] in the sociopolitical life of the province.

In accordance with the adopted rules, the delegates participating in yesterday's conference chose, in a separate election, the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee. This function was again entrusted to Jan Plociniczak.

Provincial Reports-Elections Conferences of the Polish United Workers Party also took place yesterday in Piotrkow Trybunalski and Torun. There were also party conferences for the Warsaw Military District and for the Frontier Guards.

Additional Information, Michalek Comments

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 14-15 Jan 84 p 3

[Article: "Man, Work, Soil--The Highest Values"]

[Excerpt] As previously reported, the PZPR Provincial Reports-Elections Conference took place on Thursday, 12 January, in Leszno, with the participation of Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee. Representatives of the national and provincial state organs, political parties, PRON, social and youth organizations also participated in the conference.

The conference, opened by the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Jan Plociniczak, was chaired by Franciszek Bobrowski.

The report about activities and program of the executive board of the Provincial Committee was delivered by Jan Plociniczak.

The conference received the wishes for auspicious deliberations from the Consulate General of the USSR in Poznan, and from the party leadership of Leszno's sister province of Suhl in the German Democratic Republic.

Next, the delegates to the conference heard a report on the activities of the Provincial Party Control Commission given by its chairman, Stefan Derengowski, and a report of the Provincial Audit Commission by chairman Andrzej Majewski.

After listening to these reports, conference delegates elected in a secret ballot the first secretary of the Provincial Committee. The position was again filled by Jan Plociniczak (he received 232 of 243 votes).

Thirty-one persons spoke in the discussion that followed (in addition, remarks by 9 persons were submitted to be recorded in the minutes).

In the beginning, wishes for fruitful deliberations were transmitted by the chairman of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasant Party, Stanislaw Koronowski; the chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party, Jan Cierkosz; and the chairman of the Provincial Council of PRON, Jozef Wojciechowski. Expressing thanks for having been given the opportunity to participate in the deliberations of the highest provincial party authority, they stressed the necessity of uniting all efforts for the good of the nation. Such cooperation and joint action was of decisive influence in difficult moments and turning points for the nation; they are also valuable in the time of overcoming the crisis.

Bernard Wawrzyniak, the governor of Leszno Province, depicted in his remarks the economic situation in the province, judging it as still a difficult one, especially in the consumer goods market. Signs of improvement are visible, however. In the industry, there was a 10 percent increase in sales. An improvement was also noted in the construction industry. There were productivity increases; by 8.8 percent in industry and 14 percent in construction. Despite these good results, also achieved in the agricultural sector, one

of the leading in the country, Leszno Province does not have priority with regard to supplies. This causes social dissatisfaction.

Zbigniew Michalek's Speech

In the beginning the speaker said that the past term has been the most difficult in party's history. The party that emerged from it was the same party, but it was not like the old one. Many weak, indifferent, wavering people left the party. All the more respect is due to those who stayed, especially workers and peasants, whose membership in the PZPR follows from the purest motives. This is particularly visible in Leszno Province, where the decline in party rolls was relatively small, 16 percent. Such an attitude deserves all the more respect since nowadays membership in the PZPR does not give any privileges, except the privilege of struggling for a better life for all.

Next, the secretary of the Central Committee recalled the dangers which threatened our country in the post-August period, and the significance of the program worked out by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in that situation. Unfortunately, this program encountered a violent attack by the political enemy. It was necessary to introduce martial law in order to save and continue the line of the Ninth Congress. This decision had not just national significance. The truth is that world peace depends on the calm in Poland.

Today, work is the key to overcoming difficulties. What is needed is nothing less than a cult of good work. Not so much sacrifice, but wise, well-organized and, above all, high-quality work. Good work must become the lever for the economy, the state and results of which will determine wide acceptance of party policies. Not everything can be excused due to restrictions imposed by a Western power. We must lift ourselves from our poverty by ourselves. The reform creates a great chance to overcome economic crisis, provided that it is consistently and tenaciously realized. It cannot be constantly corrected and "improved."

Talking about national economy, the speaker referred to problems in agriculture. Party policies must be adapted to the specific character of Polish agriculture, which cannot mechanically copy the example of other countries, no matter how highly developed. Radical solutions would threaten the destruction of hundreds of thousands of small farms. Whatever the future of Polish agriculture, one thing is certain: good farmers need not be apprehensive about any solutions. Such are the Leszno Province farmers, who hold the first place in the country with regard to agricultural production per hectare. At the same time this is an answer to the question of whether we can feed ourselves. Yes, we can, provided that Leszno methods of managing agriculture become a generally binding norm. At present there are still large differences, not only between provinces, but also between gminas, even in the same province.

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CSO: 2600/766

POLAND

RESULTS OF BIELSKO-BIALA PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16 Jan 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Danuta Olenjniczak, Barbara Swadzba, Jozef Klis and Stanislaw Mol: "Winning Working People Over for Party Initiatives--the Main Task"]

[Text] On 14 January, a PZPF Provincial Reports-Elections Conference was held in Bielsko-Biala. Two hundred and ninety-nine delegates evaluated the achievements of the Bielsko-Biala party organization which numbers 44,500 members and candidates. The delegates outlined the program of activities for the current term and elected party authorities, the provincial committee, the provincial party control commission and the provincial audit commission.

The conference was inaugurated by the first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Bielsko-Biala, Comrade Andrzej Gdula. Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek, member of the Central Party Control Commission Alojzy Gorzawski, member of the Central Audit Commission Brigadier General Wladyslaw Honkisz, head of the General Affairs Department of the PZPR Central Committee Antoni Gorny and Minister of Metallurgy and the Machine Industry Edward Lukosz took part in the conference.

Chairman of the SD Provincial Committee Zbigniew Gburek, chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee Ferdynand Lukaszek, chairman of the Provincial Council of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Professor Jozef Chelbowski, chairman of the Provincial People's Council Jan Knysz and Bielsko-Biala Governor Stanislaw Luczkiewicz, as well as veterans of the workers' movement Comrades Maria Halat, Waleria Slosarczyk, Wladyslaw Paluch and Robert Smieja, also participated.

Secretariat of the PZPR Provincial Committee

Andrzej Gdula--first secretary. Secretaries: Jerzy Kopel, Zbigniew Krystian, Kazimierz Ledwon and Franciszek Strzalka.

Executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee: Stanislaw Biczak, quality controller in the Polmo-Andrychow WSW in Andrychow; Joanna Brysz, quality inspector in the Bezałin Weaving Plant in Bielsko-Biala; Jozefa Bucala, gmina school director in Swinna; Jan Drobisz, metalworker in the Ponar Injection Molding Machine Plant in Zywiec; Stanislaw Habczyk, candidate member of the

PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the Zywiec PZPR City Committee; Danuta Jaszczuk, a section head nurse in the ZOZ [Health Care Team] in Wadowice; Karol Kolarczyk, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Cieszyn; Rudolf Lukaszek, foreman in shop No 14 in the Compact Car Factory; Eugeniusz Malinowski, doctor, ward head of the sanitarium in Bystra; Jan Nogawczyk, baking and confectionery foreman in the gmina cooperative in Wisla; Gabriel Polaczyk, first secretary of the PZPR City committee in Bielsko-Biala; Jan Sekula, private farmer from Przeciszow; Jozef Stozak, projectionist in the Smrek movie theater in Sucha Beskidzka; Jan Wedrzyk, first secretary of the PZPR City committee in Oswiecim.

Chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission: Czeslaw Kaczmarczyk, the present chairman of the commission.

Report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee

First secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee Comrad Andrzej Gdula delivered the report on behalf of the outgoing executive board. He stated that over the 30 months of the past term we have undergone a very difficult trial as a party and an entire people. In evaluating our achievements, we must point out shortcomings and mistakes. In order to measure up to this task, we must recall the previous conference, the realities of the time when we began our work. This was a time of profound economic crisis, full of strain and social conflicts, a period of open class struggle. It is no wonder that under such circumstances industrial output was falling at a dizzying pace while the threat to national existence was growing by the day. After the Ninth Congress, when increasingly large sectors of society began to take note of the essence of the party program and its significance for the situation of the country and the people, the enemy, realizing the danger, reinforced his activities and intensified hostile propaganda.

The opposition aggravated unfavorable phenomena occurring in the party, using a wide and varied array of propagandistic measures. All attempts to normalize the social and political situation were attacked ruthlessly and with utmost perfidy. The forces of counterrevolution embarked on an open battle with the socialist state, with the party. Political adventurism peaked in attempts to eliminate party organizations from enterprises. However, in that dramatic time not a single party organization halted its activities, not a single sphere of life in the province escaped our control. This should be credited to the party aktiv of our echelon.

The imposition of martial law in accordance with the constitutional procedure of our country brought anarchy to an end, interrupted the activity of counter-revolutionary forces--in a word, created a new political situation. This period in the Beskid region had no painful or tragic consequences. This was due to the deliberateness and understanding of the situation by a decisive majority of rural and urban dwellers in the Beskid region, the deliberateness of the economic aktiv and party membership. The soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces and functionaries of the MO [Citizens' Militia] and SB [Security Service] contributed a great deal to such a course of martial law. The activity of these comrades under very difficult conditions was marked by a

feeling of great responsibility, dedication and honesty in discharging their duty. I would like to express our appreciation and gratitude to them.

At present, we are moving step by step along the path outlined by the Ninth Congress, though not without difficulties. The party of the working class is undergoing organizational consolidation and is reinforcing its ideological identity. Thousands of people are gradually rediscovering the meaning of everyday honest work. All democratic reforms are proceeding. The most burdensome problems of life are being gradually overcome.

The first secretary went on to state that the working class which understands the essence and thrust of political and economic changes currently underway is the force of the party. It is due to the responsible attitude of the working people that we can carry on the processes of socialist renewal, control the crisis situation--in a word, bring out everyday affairs into order.

In the sphere of internal party activity, a fundamental rearrangement and cleansing of our ranks took place in the past term. We got rid of members who were lacking ideals, of passive and duplicitous members; many left of their own accord, having failed the trial of time. This process lasting throughout the term has indeed caused a decrease in the strength of the provincial party organization from 59,000 to 44,500 members. At the same time, it became an important factor in consolidating and strengthening basic party organizations. The activity of the Provincial Party Control Commission and the Audit Commission played an important role.

At the same time, the course of the current reports-elections campaign has proven that the ideological and organizational unity of the party is being reinforced. There is an appreciable improvement in internal party discipline, in responsibility for the pronouncements made, in concern for the job and the output. Simply put, concrete actions with a view to a better future, to restoring the authority and confidence in the party, are taking place.

However, in the past term a less favorable class makeup of the provincial party organization took shape. Along with the positive aspects of renewal, the post-August reevaluation resulted in a significant attenuation of working class representation. Currently, it amounts to 39 percent of the membership of the provincial party organization. However, this does not change the class character of the party, since the latter is determined by its objectives, and those serve the working class. The discussion and resolutions adopted at city, city-gmina and gmina conferences bear out the view that, despite various weaknesses and difficulties, the party has made the political grade in Bielsko-Biala Province and that the basic tasks set in 1981 have been fulfilled.

However, we must go on working to restore the party membership and its class social makeup and proper age structure and to improve political knowledge.

The first secretary of the Provincial Committee dedicated considerable time and attention to the affairs of the youth and the trade unions. In instances where party echelons cooperated with the youth, positive attitudes of the young people, their active participation in the political and economic

activities in enterprises and social groups are registered. This, however, does not amount to a broad involvement of the youth in the process of overcoming the crisis. The youth is sometimes passive and, to make matters worse, dissociates itself from the older generation of fellow workers. In the upbringing of the youth, in fostering its patriotic posture, respect for work and socialist ideological convictions we must draw from the rich experience of people who fought for socialist Poland.

Trade union activity is a topic in its own right. At present, 420 trade unions are registered in Bielsko-Biala Province in 65 percent of enterprises and economic units in the Beskid region. Seventy-seven thousand persons have joined the trade unions. This amounts to only 32.3 percent of the labor force in the socialized economy and, unfortunately, gives us a low national ranking. Simply put, the process of creating trade union organizations has slowed down recently. Members of the party whose involvement in trade union activity is small are to blame for that situation to a large degree. We must make an all-out effort to increase trade union membership to 50 percent of the labor force in all enterprises. This task is of great political importance and it must be fulfilled.

The fullest possible implementation of the economic reform in enterprises is of key importance for solving basic political and economic problems in Bielsko-Biala Province. It should be mentioned that this process is developing slower than expected in Bielsko-Biala Province as well as in the entire country. This is primarily caused by the fact that the reform is being implemented in a period of considerable economic disequilibrium. Under these circumstances, it is imperative to embark on a modification of economic mechanisms aimed at differentiating and reinforcing instruments influencing improvements in economic efficiency.

Despite the very unfavorable conditions, the result of 1982 and 1983 achieved in Bielsko-Biala Province prove in their entirety the correctness of decisions on embarking on the reform in the shape defined by the guidelines of the Ninth PZPR Congress. The reform laid the foundation for reorganizing the economy along new lines and facilitated the halting of the regress and the subsequent increase in production. In 1983, an increment of 9.4 percent was achieved in production compared to 1982. Productivity increased by 13.4 percent over the same period of time. However, we must also take note of unfavorable phenomena, such as, among other things, the growth of wages far outstripping that of production and productivity, as well as the unfavorable structure of the labor force. In many enterprises, management of raw and other materials is improper.

In his discussion of workers' self-management, the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee stated that self-management bodies have been concentrating on activities aimed at more efficient management and the creation of enterprise incentive system. They have become an important element in economic reform activities.

The secretary also devoted much attention to the issues of investment projects essential for the region which must be completed. Hence the need to speed up

the construction of a provincial hospital in the Bielsko-Biala, investment projects in water management which are very important for the industry and population of the Beskid region and the construction of educational establishments, as well as the enhancement of the program of housing construction.

It is also necessary to develop crafts and services further and to increase the productivity of agriculture. Together with the ZCL we must try harder to ensure that each private or cooperative farm functions on a healthy economic base.

The fastest possible overcoming of the crisis in our country is of tremendous importance for creating conditions for more aggressive political activity among nonparty members as well as for more efficient building of the front of national understanding. The increasingly close cooperation with the ZSL and the SD serves this purpose. The format of cooperation is provided by the cooperation commissions of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD, which have undertaken many initiatives valuable to the population of the province over the last 2 years.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is becoming an increasingly wider base of social activity. The movement provides a forum for the search for common ground in matters of importance to society as a whole. Its elements in Bielsko-Biala Province are increasingly successful in initiating solutions to socially significant problems.

In closing the report, the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee devoted much attention to ideological work and upbringing, which must be continuously improved. This is of tremendous significance in the struggle for the attitude and posture of the people. The ability to convince those who are not our enemies and to win them over for our way of thinking is the yardstick for the success of this struggle. After all, people evaluate socialism through the prism of simple everyday occurrences. Therefore, in all echelons and elements we should respect the principle stating that the restoration of authority and social confidence can take place only if we remain in touch with the interests and needs of the working man.

The struggle for social justice is linked inseparably with socialist ideas. The party must vigorously resist every instance of evil, high-handedness and scheming, accumulation of wealth at the expense of others. The ranks of the party must become a source of criticism of everything which runs counter to the socialist feeling of social justice.

Following the report of the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee, chairman of the Provincial Audit Commission Comrade Wladyslaw Bulka delivered the commission's statement. After that, the Mandates Commission delivered a report, in which it was stated that out of the 306 delegates elected in the course of the campaign 299 attended the conference. Following the report of the Mandates Commission, the conference started nominating candidates to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee. Comrade Andrzej Gdula was nominated. He was recommended by Comrade Zbigniew Michalek

on behalf of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee. Comrade Andrzej Gdula received 294 out of the 298 valid votes cast in secret balloting. He was elected the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Bielsko-Biala.

Discussion

Zbigniew Gburek, chairman of the SD Provincial Committee in Bielsko-Biala, and Ferdynand Lukaszek, chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee in Bielsko-Biala, conveyed greetings and wishes of fruitful proceeding to the delegates from fraternal political parties.

Professor Jozef Chlebowczyk, chairman of the PRON Provincial Council, also was a guest of the conference. In his presentation, he expressed his conviction that the program adopted by the delegates would facilitate still better cooperation of the party with the elements of PRON.

Among other things, it was stated in the discussion which lasted several hours that the responsibility of party organizations and echelons for all spheres of life of social groups in the region increased.

It was stressed many times over that the party had acquired new experience and skills in outlining and, first and foremost, carrying out action programs concerning equally the issues of fundamental political importance and everyday problems. Comrade Eugeniusz Kwiecien stated that it is important to elect to positions of leadership those who can combine these two aspects, who can find a common language with the people. In his speech he also referred to antisocialist propaganda. Economic development is the best response to such propaganda, just as simple honest work is the best antidote for the crisis. Comrade Tadeusz Frajberg analyzed the magnitude of needs in education, culture and also in communal concerns of rural areas and small towns. He cautioned against the reduction of the role of social initiatives in meeting these needs and called for adding to the contribution of the state budget, which is modest in certain spheres. He suggested that the party, together with local functionaries of the PRON and councilors of people's councils, support the idea of bringing back the volunteer labor drive.

Out of the wide array of problems of the province, the shortcomings and weaknesses in the functioning of spheres vital to the inhabitants of the Beskid region were especially well exposed in the course of the debate. Among other things, the disastrous condition of the education system and the shortage of teachers were brought up. The latter will exacerbate further in the coming years as demographic data show. Therefore, it is necessary for the party to pay much attention to these issues, to work out a concept for making up the lost time and to introduce at a relatively early date structural changes in education which will make it possible to meet the challenge of the coming years.

The situation in health care service is similar. The service is struggling with the shortage of hospitals, health care centers and specialized medical

services. The shortage of medical personnel is an important impediment to an improvement in the work of health care. This shortage results from, among other things, the lack of apartments for doctors.

In the estimation of most discussants, finding a solution to the complicated problems of the province hinges primarily on overcoming the economic problems of the country and the region. To be sure, the year that just ended was marked by better performance of the economy of the province compared to 1982. Yet, the efficiency of state enterprises and cooperatives is still too low, the implementation of the economic reform is still running into difficulties. The cooperation of the party in shaping mechanisms facilitating better utilization of the worktime, rational employment policy in the socialized economy, housing construction improvement of health care, environmental protection and other issues should be mentioned among the tasks for the most immediate future.

A positive evaluation of the achievements of the party in recent years and the elaboration of an action program for the future should not divert attention from the existing shortcomings in internal party life. At issue is the attention of the echelons to the conditions of work of the OOP's [branch party organizations] and POP's [basic party organizations], the help, but also the responsibility for taking action on tasks, matters and suggestions referred to basic organizations. The discussants stressed that it is exactly the proper work of basic elements that primarily contributes to the regaining of credibility by the party.

Therefore, along with the implementation of concrete programs and actions, the very posture and attitude of rank-and-file party members is also important. The discussants stressed that the party cannot afford to have within its ranks people whose ideological awareness is low and who do not fully identify with the line and program of the party.

The leading role of the party must be apparent in every aspect of life--it cannot be relinquished. The POP's must be aware of their function in implementing the party program, because their members live and work among ordinary citizens who sometimes wait passively for somebody to get them interested, lead them and point out a way to act. Comrade Jan Sekula, in his analysis of internal party and ideological work in rural areas, raised in sharp terms the issue of strengthening party discipline.

Comrade Julian Kraus also raised the issue of attitudes and discipline of party members. A ruling party is required to discharge power, but is also charged with the responsibility for almost everything. However, we must admit, said the speaker, that we are not aggressive enough, that we often lack force. This is, among other things, a result of having among us a good number of people who do not belong, who are constantly set on "no," who constantly criticize something, who claim that the party is doing something wrong. We should consider whether this still qualified as justified criticism, where the limits of this criticism are, whether this is not by any chance an attitude aimed against us. Many people are party members

between 6 am and 2 pm, but would not admit to carrying a membership card in their residence. I submit that members of enterprise organizations should make their presence known in their communities and help with party activities there.

There was a bitter note in the speech of Comrade Jan Frank, who drew attention to the barely perceptible participation of party members in trade union activities. Party members who do not belong to trade unions, do not help in their organization and activities, simply do not carry out the resolutions of the central echelons of PZPR. There are enterprises in the province where initiative groups still do not exist. Party organizations must come up with assistance in liquidating these blank spots as fast as possible.

Statement by Comrade Zbigniew Michalek

After the discussion, which lasted for several hours, the closing statement was made by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Comrade Zbigniew Michalek.

The speaker stated that we have put behind us a period of very sharp confrontation, of pitched battles, we have put behind us martial law. Since a certain time, the party is said to be and not to be what it once was. Indeed, there are fewer of us. The enemies and weak and indifferent people have left, as well as the ones we call errant individuals. We have fewer workers and peasants. Many people are asking whether we still remain a workers' party. Yes, we do, because we represent the ideas and interests of the working class. We have no privileges. Our only privilege is our participation in building a better reborn Poland. The August of 1980 was needed, it revealed our weaknesses. However, the post-August period was catastrophic for the economy of our country. One hears frequently that 3 years ago our life was better. It is true; it is also true, however, that a return to the live standard of that time will be difficult in the absence of dependence on the West and [Western] loans.

At the Ninth Congress, the party spoke in favor of democracy and self-management, economic reform, a unified and healthy agricultural sectors, a coalition system of power and efficient personnel policy. We are carrying out these resolutions, and this is made possible by the day of 13 December 1981. Comrade Michalek stated that history would pass its judgment on the appropriateness of the decision on imposing martial law. However, even today we can say that the decisions made at that time brought stabilization to Poland. Peace in Poland amounts to a little bit more peace in Europe and in the world.

The secretary of the PZPR Central Committee went on to cite the examples of activities proving the adherence of the policy of the party and government to the line of the Ninth Congress. He referred, among other things, to the work of the Sejm, to the implementation of laws of fundamental importance for augmenting the participation of toilers in ruling the country. He also pointed out difficulties associated with the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. The largest difficulty results from reservations

rooted in the mentality of people. This also applies to party work. We have become unaccustomed (or else we have been so conditioned) to display initiative and enterprise and, among other things, to take risks, continued the speaker. Unless we overcome this, the best laws, programs and reforms will not make the grade.

The secretary of the PZPR Central Committee also took up in his statement the issue of good work which was so often raised by the discussants. The speaker stated, among other things, that the notion of good work is often associated with patriotism. This is a common misunderstanding. Work is a duty, it should be done solidly and rapidly. This is the most significant issue for us, for the entire country. We need an ethos of good work, we need to elevate it on a pedestal, but we need not confuse it with the patriotic attitude. In doing so, however, we must learn to criticize and condemn the manifestations of shoddiness, disorder and sloppiness, first in our own work and that of our neighbor and only after that in the work of superior echelons of government. Today, no courage is needed to criticize the authorities. It turns out, however, that it requires genuine courage to tell a neighbor or a fellow worker that he is not doing a good job. The linkage is straightforward: if everyone does well, the country as a whole will also do well.

In his statement, Comrade Michalek dwelled at length on the economic reform and its role in overcoming the restrictions of the United States and its allies against Poland. The restrictions of Western states have inflicted apparent loss on our economy. However, it would amount to megalomania to think that only Poland was at issue in this instance. After all, the main objective of restrictions is to bring about a deterioration of economic conditions in the entire socialist commonwealth, and primarily in the Soviet Union. We are in a difficult situation, because we are losing billions of dollars due to the restrictions. However, we must all the more intently pursue the opportunities offered to us by the economic reform.

The secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said that we, as a party, must be a propagator and the motive power of the reform. In our economy, inflation poses the largest threat. As a result of inflation, nothing pays for anybody, the incentives to work and prerequisites for saving are lacking. Financial and technological discipline are needed to control inflation. We must admit to these measures, unpopular as they are. The time will come when the population believes that we are right--only if we tell the truth, no matter how unpleasant.

In closing his statement, the secretary of the PZPR Central Committee presented the situation of agriculture in our country, mentioning many of its weak points and needs as well as the conditions which are necessary in order to improve its efficiency. He also gave a positive evaluation to the activities of the provincial party organization, the provincial echelon, the Provincial Commission of Party Control and the Provincial Audit Commission.

Election of Leadership

The conference elected 100 members of the PZPR Provincial Committee, 31 alternate members, 41 members of the Provincial Party Control Commission and 41 members of the Provincial Audit Commission.

Subsequently, at the first plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee, the secretariat and the executive board of the committee were elected (the list appears on page 1). The Provincial Audit Commission and the Provincial Party Control Commission were also established.

The conference adopted a resolution in which further enhancement of the links with the working class and the reinforcement of its leading social role were recognized to be the most essential objectives for the provincial party organization in the next term. This should be accomplished by building confidence in the party through enlisting increasingly numerous groups of citizens for the implementation of the program of socialist changes.

Before the adjournment, the participants of the conference passed a resolution denouncing the attempts of imperialist forces to unleash the fire of a new war.

The singing of the International concluded the proceedings.

9761

CSO: 2600/762

PARTY UNITY PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

AU031940 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 3, Mar 84 pp 27-39

[Waldemar Budzilo article: "The Struggle for Party Unity Continues"]

[Excerpts] As a party lecturer and training instructor I have experienced good and bad times in the life of the party. I have experienced the drama of many events. All this has helped form my reflections on the party. My reflections concern ways of reestablishing and strengthening the party's unity and restoring its leading role in socialist construction.

V. Lenin attached great importance to socialist ideology, and he therefore believed that ideological unity is the basic principle behind party activity. Ideological unity creates the prerequisites for programmatic unity, and therefore determines the party's strategic and tactical goals. Ideological unity means that the party is guided by an ideology that is known and that expresses the interests of the proletariat--in other words Marxism-Leninism. But it does not mean that all party members accept party principles as a philosophy. Most party members, especially workers, base their membership on the party's socio-political goals. That is why in some communist parties, including ours, a large group of members consist of religious believers who do not fully share Marxist philosophical views. The role of a revolutionary party depends on integrating the party's members around the fundamental problem of gaining and maintaining workers class authority and building a socialist society. But there is a big difference between a worker who goes to church and an intellectual who recognizes Marxist ideology. A worker may be more revolutionary in his social views despite his attachment to religious tradition than a professor who teaches Marxist philosophy. The party must always go with the masses, and its ideological unity is based on the very fact that it professes the will of the masses in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory and that it learns from the masses and acts for their sake. It ought to be remembered that party unity stemming from ideology is an essential condition for victory, as V. Lenin indicated more than once. A party's programmatic unity means the mapping out of a certain path that the party should follow.

The difficulties we are currently experiencing are the result of a party split caused by a departure from socialist ideas and from Leninist principles of coexistence. Some party members who owe their social position, and scientific, political, economic, or administrative careers to the party have started to

neglect the very party thanks to which they achieved such favorable conditions for their advancement. Others, correctly motivated by social justice, have pointed out existing errors and distortions. But there has been yet another group that believed that nothing needs changing. They thought that it would only take a few sessions of treatment and then socialism would have a "proper face."

The party did not manage to settle the differences at the Eighth PZPR Congress. Despite the moods of society, the Gierek group tried to maintain the work style it had employed previously, and acted in a way that was contrary to the interests of the nation and state. It later happened that some party members alienated themselves from the party and some even from society. Pretending that they wanted to repair the party, some party elements that were foreign to party ideology commenced a campaign against the party, saying that nothing had been built and nothing had been created during the whole 40 years of People's Poland's existence. They only sought what was evil and repugnant. These critics wanted to create a new Poland from scratch and suspend it somewhere between socialism and capitalism. They received significant help from scholars who were involved with certain Western circles. They acted either knowingly or unknowingly for the sake of "softening" socialism and revealing that the system is unreformable. Some of them left the party and ostentatiously threw out their membership cards.

In the face of a loud echo among party ranks and disorientation among society, the resultant loophole was filled by a justified workers protest whose organizational outlet was Solidarity. But Solidarity's activity later began to be steered by politicians intent on overthrowing the state and the party. This distortion in social consciousness was encouraged by various statements by scientific and senior educational representatives. Some teachers succumbed to this pseudoscientific pressure. They tried to draw inexperienced young people into a political struggle and bandied about demagogical slogans that sharply attacked socialism and the Soviet Union. Legends were revived about people and groups of people carrying out anticommunist activity, people such as Pilsudski and groups such as the National Armed Forces (a section of the Polish underground formed in 1942]. Attempts were made to dig up from history everything that cast a shadow on Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations. Attempts were also made to inject anticommunism and anti-Sovietism into the young generation, against all logic and against state interests.

Some party members went over to Solidarity, believing that Poland and Solidarity shared a common interest in struggling against injustice and distortions, and that Solidarity supported the party and would help it, especially those party elements who were acting for the sake of socialist renewal. Their faith in the correctness of Solidarity's activity was subjected to a harsh test when Solidarity commenced battle not against conservative party elements but against the entire party, believing that the party's record contained nothing but errors.

It ought to be clearly said that some groups of party members connected with Solidarity tried to make the party capitulate before the new union. Despite certain setbacks, the party succeeded in working out a program that guaranteed renewal and a revival of social life in Poland, but then an attack on the party's program and on party activity flared up. There were well-known attempts

to throw the party out of the factories and appoint factory directors by Solidarity--controlled workers self-management bodies. They wanted to deprive the party not only of its social base by cutting it off from the workers but also of its material base, in other words by removing socialized work places from the party sphere. If the party's existence was recognized, it was only in the form of a "red cap" meant to symbolize membership in the socialist camp. Of course there were also those who believed that the communist party in Poland should be abolished and replaced by a collection of various kinds of new political parties whose main characteristic was meant to be anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The departure from Marxism-Leninism created a situation where a considerable part of the opinion-forming and intellectual community, a part of young people, and a part of the workers class, succumbed to the demagogic slogans of Solidarity. Not even experienced party members were able to defend the Marxist-Leninist line effectively and they felt disorientated to a major extent. This was because they were not adequately equipped with Marxist-Leninist knowledge. Neither did they possess arguments to combat accusations that Marxist-Leninist ideology is utopia and that bureaucratic distortions are an inseparable feature of socialism. Marxism-Leninism will become a material force when it gains control over the masses. For Poland not only needs a strong workers class party, but above all an intelligent one, one that can fight the opponent's ideology, and one that can counter argument with argument. Therefore, in order for the workers class to fulfill its historic role, it must be fully aware of the social and material position both of itself and of other social groups and classes. This applies both on a national and international scale. That is why one of the most important tasks of the party is to remove the myths about Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Let us hope that all the political stimuli coming from the leadership will achieve the expected results in activating the party and reviving and strengthening it ideologically. The resolutions of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which dealt with party ideological life, have a particular role to play here. This continues to be an important platform for unity.

We often speak about the errors of the past. But let us not make new ones and let us avoid mistaken practice today. All the evil will not automatically fade into the past. Evil is also inherent in today. Correcting the mistakes and bad practices and rejecting all attempts to bring back reprehensible practices to the life of the party demands constant attention.

Right now the most important matter is to strengthen the party's programmatic and organizational unity and its unity of action stemming from the party program, which has been discussed and agreed on with the majority of the party members. Experience teaches us that not even the best program will by itself finally settle the problems of socioeconomic reality. Not everything in life depends solely on commonsense and on correct programmatic ideas. There have been many such correct ideas and there usually are a lot of them. It is the practical implementation of these ideas and consistency and flexibility of action that are the determining factors, together with a feeling that all the programs are socially suitable, a feeling of commonsense, and efficient organization. It

is not only mistakes in thinking and in establishing programs that have laid at the roots of our weaknesses, but also mistakes in activity. This we should remember, discuss, and overcome.

As we can see, the party must be strong in order to preserve unity of thought and action. It must be strong on the basis of its ideas and daily practices. In order to fulfill this requirement, the party ranks must contain people who are immune to demagoguery and to attacks by the enemy. It must rid itself of all those who failed the test during the great trial and who even betrayed the party, attacking it together with the Solidarity extremists. People who vacillate and are undecided, people who, as the Polish proverb says, would like to "light a candle for God and a cigarette end for the devil" are an obstacle to the party. There should be no room in the party for two-faced people, and opportunists who use their membership cards as a screen for their private interests. People who have been disgraced and who have lost the confidence of society or a given work force should be eliminated. The party should open its doors wide to all those who pointed out mistakes prior to August. They fought for the party's repair. They were forced to leave the party either of their own accord or after a decision by a party cell.

Young activists desiring satisfaction in life through activity for the good of society should find their way into the party. The party should show all those whose ambition is to serve the nation the way leading to it.

The party's leading role cannot be imposed or enforced on people, it cannot be based on the general statements that are recorded in various party and state documents. The party's leading role must stem from two basic sources, first--from the recognition of the fact by the majority of people that the party does take the leading role, and second--from its leading activities. If these two elements are absent from the party's affairs then, whether it likes it or not, the party loses its leading role. Taking the leading role is currently a difficult and complicated thing to do, because one set of party members wants to advance as fast as possible, while others worry about keeping pace and wonder if this is what society wants of them.

Time, on the other hand, goes relentlessly, so that the party must assume the leading role as quickly as possible in order to lead the people in the struggle for a new face for our country and our nation. Society expects the party will be capable of dealing with its internal problems, especially its economic ones, and that it will be able to purge itself of people who have compromised themselves and are incompetent, and of overcoming the mistakes and distortions that have been made. The party must be a certain kind of model of rightness and honesty, because only by exemplifying the party as a social institution that is taking the lead and is composed of leading and active groups of individuals will it be possible for it to influence society.

The party program, which meets the expectations of the working people, is a dignified and commendable one. However, the party has to a greater extent failed to implement this program for many reasons, and not only for cadre reasons. It is necessary for society to understand that the party is not merely composed of top men--those who caused the crisis within the party and state, but of throngs

of people within society who have the same troubles, worries, and difficulties as others. The majority of party members are ordinary people who have decided to implement the party's ideas that serve the working masses, using their own efforts and hard work.

The most important factor that decided the effectiveness of party activities is the influence of party ideology and education. This must be geared toward four basic educational circles--the family, the school, the work place, and the mass media.

The Polish family finds itself at present in a very specific situation. The party's influence on it is relatively weak and official, and it is [in] the family that later internal conflicts stem from among people who join the party. This is also why the behavior of the children of top party people was often objected to and opposed by society.

The activities of the party and of the relevant state bodies are insufficient in the ideological and educational sphere. However, one must remember that a school is a very sensitive instrument and that one cannot use it rashly or too abruptly. It does not react well to quick shifts, changes, or a sudden move from situation to another, but must, on the other hand, be surrounded with the constant care and support of both the party and the state. School affairs must be decided by the teacher--he is the central factor of the entire education system and his ideological attitude, his affiliation to the party, his knowledge, and his influence decide the school's shape, its ideological and educational results, and the face of the party's future members. This is why the teacher, his role in the school, his material and cultural situation, and his professional and social training should feature at the center of the party's attention. There is nothing more important than the education of our youth, because it is they who will decide the future of our country. "Such will be the republic as is the youngsters' education." [Unattributed quotation in old Polish]

The party must listen to the work force in order to have some definite, current influence on the correction of decisions that were initially made by the factory managers. As soon as it is possible to fully introduce self-governing bodies--the party must accurately recognize the potential of those who will join these bodies. They should be people whose efforts and hard work at the factory lead us to suppose that the goals that have been set will be reached. But the party should even now be conducting talks with the members of the work force that embody the kind of traits that will be useful and are necessary for the self-governing bodies to function, and ones that will affect their attitudes and goals. The party cannot become the overseer of a self-governing body organization or a trade union, but it must be a partner in the resolution of the difficult problems that face a given circle.

The party must be familiar with the working people's needs and it must aim to satisfy them. One of these needs is the interest shown by most of the population in the affairs of our country and the world. This is why in most families everyone hurries toward the television as soon as the news program signature tune begins to play. The party must be concerned that the natural curiosity about the world is satisfied in an appealing way.

Another need that must be satisfied is the feeling of good will that should be cultivated among the workers. To a greater extent, this is tantamount to coming to the assistance of those who need it, not only by offering words of comfort to the victims of fate, but rather by showing daily concern for the work force's work conditions, their work health and safety, for day care centers to be provided, as well as nurseries, hot and cold dining facilities, cultural centers, holiday resorts, and sanatoriums.

An important issue is taking an interest in the conditions facing Polish women and children. The party in its activities cannot neglect making an effort to improve the situation of working women. Its help should be definite and effective, and it should be concerned that workers' children receive the greatest possible care.

Another exceptionally important issue is the party's interest in and constant care for the school graduates who are starting work in factories, because they must be made to feel they are part of the team and they should have the right to have a critical opinion of what is going on within the factory. They cannot feel lost or useless.

Therefore, in order to be united, the party should stride toward its goals together with the work force, and the strides it makes must be large ones in order to make up for lost time. These strides can only be made larger on the condition that the work force will be certain of the fact that the party has no goals other than the good of the working people and that this in itself is a guarantee of faster progress. However, in order for such a certainty and such a guarantee to come about, it is necessary for the factory's social affairs to be organized in such a way so as to allow the workers' civic attitudes to be triumphant, as well as to combat antisocialist views and opinions. It is also necessary for this to happen to enable people's belief to grow in the possibility of overcoming the crisis and for the slogan "A Pole Can Do It" not to seem preposterous to people, but to transform it into a verifiable proof of our economic and social efficiency.

The party must be concerned that everything that goes on in our factories is open to everyone, including the allocation of apartments, bonuses, business trips abroad, and that workers should have the right to appraise whether these bonuses have been given justly. We are not merely concerned with overtness, but also that workers believe in the aptness of the decisions that have been made by their managements or by the trade union organizations, so that they will have the right to voice their remarks and reservations without fear of reprisal, because social justice cannot solely be a programmatic slogan--it should be a definite verifiable phenomenon that occurs daily on the factory floor.

The most important part of Poland's economic and social reorganization is the issue of effective and productive work. The assessment of work, its results, the effort put into it, and the goods and social values that are produced from it, is the subject of daily consideration in Poland. Our nation's scorn for work is and was the bane of our economy, but our attitude to work is also linked with the worker's position. We must fight for the people's understanding

of the word worker not to seem demeaning, but to be the source of a person's honor--of one who produces the material goods that are necessary to society. The honor of a worker becomes apparent when he feels satisfied with his work, when he knows just how necessary it is to the people, and how much people respect the fruits of his labor.

Party unity is, therefore, the result not only of what is going on within the party, but also of what is happening as a result of the activities being pursued outside the party. The working masses define their attitude to the party with their very own attitude, and this is also true of the policy lines that the party has chosen to follow. The more confusion there is within society, the greater the threat to the party's unity, because people then look for various ways of repairing the damage done, and some try to oppose their interests to those of others and so work toward the breakup of the party.

We are on the road toward overcoming the difficulties that stem from divergent tendencies--but the struggle for party unity goes on.

CSO: 2600/847

NATIONAL DEFENSE EXPENDITURES ANALYZED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jan 84 p 5

[Article by PAP: "National Defense Expenditures: Indispensable and Warranted"]

[Text] The Polish press, radio and television have been recently showered with questions regarding budgetary national defense expenditures. The public appears to be interested specifically in the volume and structure of military spending as compared to other countries and in Poland's accomplishments in the area of defense modernization.

In connection with this, the Polish Press Agency (PAP) asked Ministry of National Defense officials for information on the subject.

National security and the nation's peaceful existence are cardinal principles of this socialist state's *raison d'etat*. The general policy in this area pursued by the party and the government has been invariably just. It was tested during periods of extremely tense international relations, and, as such, has remained an inalienable part of the Warsaw Pact's joint policy.

Security, sovereign state existence and inviolable borders are the greatest, historic gains of the post-war period.

Any realistic assessment of the present international situation is bound to show that whatever makes up this immense national accomplishment must be carefully guarded, strengthened and promoted. Peace and safe borders are not assets given to Poland once and for all; a continuous and persistent struggle is necessary to safeguard these supreme assets.

Admittedly, defense involves expenditures, but weakness is even more expensive, to say nothing of the incalculable costs of war. Armaments are essentially alien to the nature of socialism. This is why socialist countries attach so much importance to the disarmament issue, and why they are so perseverant in their efforts in this direction. Should proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact command meet with a positive response from NATO, the present international situation would be entirely different.

The attitude of NATO governments toward detente and disarmament proposals is generally known. The fate of pertinent Soviet proposals and the reasons for

the deadlock in disarmament talks are common knowledge. Imperialism's confrontative line is gaining momentum while pressure resulting from the arms race is growing steadily. This is particularly obvious in operations undertaken by the U.S. Administration and NATO governments in connection with the deployment of new nuclear missile systems in Western Europe.

The policy of the United States and NATO states, aimed at the Soviet Union and all Warsaw Pact countries is also targeted on the most vital interests of socialist Poland. This policy is bolstered by perverse propaganda designed to convince the international public about a so-called Soviet threat and about an alleged danger that armaments inside the Warsaw Pact, including those in Poland, pose to European peace.

However, the need for a modern and well-trained army and for strengthening our defense preparedness was, in fact, forced on Poland and its allies by militant imperialist forces, which do not even try to hide their aggressive plans. The increasing threat of war makes the socialist community's member countries, including Poland, regard defense related matters and national security as important state priorities. Under Polish conditions, defense expenditures are an objective necessity stemming from the social costs of peace.

It is beyond a doubt that Poland's defense policy is that of moderate expenditure, commensurate both with the level of danger and with Poland's economic potential. Poland's national defense spending amounts to between 3 percent and 5 percent of the national income (3 percent in 1978, 3.7 percent in 1982 and 1983 each, and 4.04 in 1984, according to draft budgets). In many NATO states, military spending accounts for much bigger proportions of the national income. For instance, between 1978 and 1982, respective figures were 5.1 percent and 7.2 percent for the United States, 4.2 percent and 4.3 percent for West Germany, 4.6 percent and 5.1 percent for Great Britain, 6.7 percent and 6.7 percent for Greece, and 5.2 percent and 5.2 percent for Turkey. In recent years these proportions have grown.

Poland's military spending (at current prices in zloty) has been 59.8 billion in 1977, 66.6 billion in 1980, 174.0 billion in 1982, 192.0 billion in 1983, and 218.7 billion in 1984 (according to national plans).

This growth of military spending at current prices in recent years, particularly in 1982, is due to the price reform. The high rate of inflation is another important factor of this.

Poland's moderate military spending policy is reflected in the defense proportion of total budgetary expenditures which was 6.8 percent in 1978 and 7.1 percent in 1983.

Within the Polish budget, some areas have higher spending growth rates than national defense. In 1984, defense spending is to increase by 13.9 percent over the 1983 level. However, budgetary spending on culture and the arts is to go up 36.8 percent, on the primary and secondary school and educational systems by 22.1 percent, on vocational schools by 18.8 percent, on higher

schools by 15.3 percent, on the public health service by 20.2 percent, and on welfare by 19.9 percent.

Per capita spending is the best index of the cost to the public of maintaining any given state department. Per capita defense spending can, however, be determined only after recalculating the defense expenditures of different countries from national currencies into some comparable currency, as a rule into U.S. dollars. Many research institutions in the West specialize in this kind of estimates. Poland's defense spending is published in zloty every year. It is commonly known that any international comparisons, especially of military spending rates, are very difficult to make. Data on Poland's defense spending recently released in the West are conspicuously biased and reflect manipulations of statistical estimates.

The use by Western experts of totally unrealistic, arbitrarily fixed coefficients for currency re-estimation in order to determine military spending levels in Warsaw Pact countries (the London-based Institute of Strategic Studies, for instance, took Zl 13.90 for the dollar as such a coefficient in its 1981 estimate, and Zl 27.83 in the 1982 one) produces an utterly distorted and tendentiously overrated picture of Poland's defense spending in terms of the U.S. dollar.

Taking as coefficient the official exchange rate of the time, which the National Bank of Poland used in current accounts settlements in mid-1982, namely Zl 85.53, one can see that the 1982 budgetary spending on defense which was 174 billion zlotys amounted to an equivalent of \$2,035 million. Per inhabitant this yields a sum of \$56.2 per year. This is several times less than the 1982 per capita indices of countries such as the United States (938), West Germany (461), Britain (432), France (408), Greece (265), Denmark (219), or Italy (156).

Unquestionably, Poland builds its defenses at considerably smaller costs in absolute figures than rich NATO countries. In this connection, it should be stressed that one very significant feature of socialism is its ability to discharge its national defense function at relatively lower costs. Poland has been actively availing itself of this system-determined advantage which allows it to conduct a policy of moderate defense spending and to keep the burden of military expenditures to society at a lower level than in capitalist countries.

Poland owes this to cooperation with its allies, in particular with the Soviet Union, which allows Poland to take advantage of joint technological and design accomplishments and mutually beneficial deliveries of military materiel. Development of the domestic defense industry is free of the race for maximum profits which is so typical of capitalist relations. Greatly helpful in utilizing the National Defense Ministry's budget to the best effect is that weaponry is constantly modernized, materiel is used frugally, and that the armed forces carry out various orders for the national economy.

The Polish economy's present condition and the increasing danger of war place on the National Defense Ministry particularly high requirements regarding the

use of funds at its disposal. Therefore, effectiveness has become in the army a base and fundamental criterion of operational efficiency in all areas. New ways of cutting costs and saving are consistently sought and implemented; for several years now, such ways have been employed within the framework of a consistent mechanism called efficient operations system, which embraces all domains of the defense ministry's operations. In another system, the highest possible utilization rates are ensured for those resources society has released for national defense. All this yields desired effects, and, in the face of incessant pressure from imperialist armaments, enables the army to standup to the difficult task of multifariously modernizing Poland's armed forces and the national defense system.

As much as necessary and economically feasible, the Polish army introduces new types of weapons. This is made possible both by developing national research-and-development facilities and by allied cooperation inside the Warsaw Pact and the Comecon. Naturally, defense build-up costs in an alliance are lower than if Poland had to do it alone. Poland's defense industry output, which relies on the latest domestic and licensed technologies, enables Poland to meet all its national demand for defense material and to export it to friendly countries. Revenue from these export it to friendly countries. Revenue from these exports primarily helps cover the costs of state-of-the-art arms imports, as well as benefit the national economy.

Because it is increasingly efficient and complex, military equipment has steadily been rising in cost. The National Defense Ministry is, therefore, attaching increasing importance to streamlining the process of modernizing Poland's armed forces. This process is scheduled to proceed in phases and in a smooth manner.

Modernization is effected both by selectively equipping military units with new types of weapons and by modifying old types of equipment to raise their technological quality and enhance their combat utility. Such modifications have in recent years helped improve the parameters of many types of military equipment which made them more suitable for the latest military technologies.

This comprehensive process considerably lowers maintenance costs while augmenting the armed forces' combat potential.

One extremely important area for improvement which can significantly affect current military expenditures is the design of a possible optimal structure of the armed forces. This essentially involves perfecting organizational and functional systems with a view to saving certain resources, which may subsequently be used in areas indispensable for keeping our armed forces in step with modern requirements.

One problem which has been given close attention for years is the continuous improvement of the officer corps structure. The overall rule is to assign commissioned officers only to posts which require their definite, specialized, military qualifications. Therefore, every post is described by a set of military expertise requirements, which simultaneously determines which level of professional officers (commissioned, warrant, or noncommissioned) may be assigned to any given job.

Under this rule, existing job structures are constantly being reviewed. In particular, reviews are intended to disclose opportunities for reducing the number of posts which must be filled by officers and for filling certain posts by officers of other ranks than before.

Most attention in such reviews is paid to officers who are reserved exclusively for leadership, conceptual and other specialized posts, which can only be filled by officers who have graduated from higher military education centers. One consequence of the reviews so far has been that many posts previously assigned to commissioned officers are now filled by warrant officers.

Another line of action concerns ensuring a lasting place for graduates of reserve officer training schools on officers' rolls, who, within the framework of their one-year training stints, discharge responsible duties in several thousand posts normally earmarked for professional soldiers.

More use has also been made of civilian workers, who have been entrusted with duties that do not call for strictly military skills (administration, construction, health services, etc.).

It should be emphasized that in comparison to the armies of Western states, which are either 100 percent professional (United States or Britain) or largely professional (e.g., the Bundeswehr), the number of professional officers in Poland's armed forces is developed extremely sparingly, as a result of which spending on military personnel is correspondingly lower.

In the saving programs, much effort is devoted to a rational deployment and use of officers in the units of military administration at all organizational levels of the armed forces. This is achieved by continuously perfecting and verifying the tasks carried out by that administration, by simplifying office and staff work and by constantly improving workers' skills. This not only makes it possible to halt the growth of administrative personnel but also to reduce its size, despite the fact that its responsibilities are growing all the time.

Also, the training of the forces is subject to permanent economizing. Overhauls equipment have become less frequent while the working life of arms and equipment has been extended. The cost of using equipment and arms has been lowered because of the use of training simulators and surrogate equipment, and the introduction of innovations and improvements. The use of vehicles has been optimized, producing fuel savings. Considerable savings have been made in the use of sophisticated equipment while preserving the required standard of training.

The measureable effects alone of the savings efforts were estimated at 12 billion zloty in 1982.

Thanks to considerable effort on the part of professional soldiers and the large ranks of draftees, the effectiveness of every zloty spent on the armed forces is multiplied. At the same time, while discharging its defense duties, the armed forces have been making an unquestionable contribution to the peacetime economic development of the country.

The army provides civic education for youth, teaching them to be independent but also to subordinate themselves to the requirements of organized action, good work and individual responsibility in a collective effort. The armed forces also provide vocational training. Every year the army discharges from service tens of thousands of specialists who acquired or improved their skills while in the army. These include drivers and car mechanics, tractor drivers, earth moving equipment operators, bricklayers, carpenters, and communication equipment maintenance men. Specialized farming courses are organized for soldiers from the countryside, with emphasis on the use of chemical agents and fertilizers. It would cost the state some 20 billion zloty (in 1982 prices) to train such a number of specialists in three-year vocational schools.

The armed forces have been making a major contribution to the development of the country's infrastructure. Suffice it to say that in a typical year, soldiers of territorial defense units alone replace 1,400 kilometers and repair 1,600 kilometers of railway track, assemble 1,300 kilometers of prefabricated lengths of track and 2,000 switches, and lay 70 kilometers of new track. In 1982 alone, territorial defense units put in 3.4 million man-days for the national economy valued at 2.4 billion zloty. In the same period, army rail and road-building units worked over 1 million man-days carrying out projects whose value was estimated to be in excess of 2.5 billion zloty.

The army has also assisted Polish agriculture by helping with the harvest or supplying transport services. A special military unit capable of discharging a broad range of drainage and irrigation projects was set up in 1983. Its work in the Zulawy area has already produced tangible results. The further development and rational use of units of this kind may be of great assistance in solving land improvement problems not only in Zulawy, but throughout the country.

Yet another group of army units entrusted with training and production duties are the engineering and building units. They carry out half of all military building projects, thereby taking the pressure off civilian enterprises.

The army's farming and livestock services have been using every available patch of military land; in 1984, this will come to over 10,000 hectares. The food grown there satisfies a large proportion of the army's needs, thus easing the shortages on the domestic market.

The military health service offers considerable services to the civilian community. In 1983, some 38,000 civilians were admitted to military hospitals, some 185,000 people received treatment in army outpatient clinics while donors in uniform gave almost 60,000 liters of blood for the benefit of the civilian health service.

All of this testifies that the money spent on defense brings benefits to the national economy. Some component parts of the armed forces are at the same time elements of the national economy placed within the armed forces' structure. This is what the rational coordination of defense needs with the needs resulting from the overall development of the country is all about.

The rationalization of activity in all areas of military life, the search for new, more efficient solutions which help save effort, means and time, are the intellectual and economic weapons of the Polish army. Economies are sensible when the specified tasks are carried out with a lower input of means and effort. This serves the fundamental aim of raising defense preparedness while lowering the potential cost of defense to society.

CSO: 2600/851

ARMY GENERAL VIEWS CRIMES, PUBLIC SECURITY

AU141056 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Mar 84 p 2

[Interview given by Brigadier General Lucjan Czubinski, deputy chairman of the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Observing Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, to PAP Reporter Witold Smolarek: "On Behalf of Society and for Society"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Smolarek] What is the state of public security and order in our country?

[Czubinski] General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs and chairman of our committee, gave a comprehensive appraisal of the situation in the Sejm last December. I will just cite a few statistics. About 278,000 criminal charges were handled, 10 percent more than in 1982. Crimes against property, especially private property, are increasing. Theft of public property, especially in railroads and road transportation and in trade are highly disturbing. The number of murders, armed robberies, rape, fights and assaults continues to be high. Making large illegal fortunes is still not unusual. Last year we began proceedings in about 69,000 cases of economic crimes, including over 10,000 cases of profiteering. In the course of their duties the prosecuting bodies have recovered property worth some 2 billion zlotys from criminal suspects.

[Smolarek] What has your committee achieved since its inception?

[Czubinski] We want to implement 11 tasks in the first 6 months of this year. Some of them are long-term tasks and involve preventive and disciplinary activities.

Those tasks include activities to ensure that the legal regulations governing the order and security in the Polish railroads are observed and to protect property during railroad transportation. The same activities are taking place in the sector of liquid fuels and of truck transportation. The goal is to prevent theft and waste.

We are now examining the effectiveness of the present taxation systems vis-a-vis the units of the nonsocialized economy; the observation of regulations on control checks on the quality of goods in selected plants and in some branches of industry; and the militancy of the legal services in plants in recovering damages resulting from losses caused by illegal activities.

[Smolarek] What can you say about the course and effectiveness of the checks on the railroads?

[Czubinski] The primary goal of these checks is to increase the protection of passenger traffic and goods transportation and to decisively improve order on railroad tracks and installations.

About 76,000 militiamen and members of the motorized militia, about 24,000 voluntary militiamen, about 17,000 soliders of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and about 15,000 members of the Railroad Protection Guard took part in such checks on several occasions.

They checked about 32,000 passenger trains, about 21,000 freight trains, and about 41,000 railroad facilities. Some 135,000 persons were checked for identity, of whom about 9,000 were taken to militia stations. Some 800 crimes and about 90,000 offenses were detected. The guilty were subjected to penal and penal-administrative sanctions.

The checks have confirmed earlier reports that freight and passenger transportation and the performance of the railroad services of the Polish railroads were greatly inefficient. The long-term goal of our checks and operations is to restore the proper performance of the railroads and to ensure that the appropriate railroad services discharge their duties. The activities of outside bodies will not ensure continued order and discipline if the railroad functionaries fail to do their jobs. The present reports indicate that some railroad services, especially grassroots services, are beginning to do their jobs in line with their powers and duties. Passengers, too, are beginning to show more militancy in opposing breaches of order. This is a promising development and is what we want to see.

[Smolarek] What is the meaning of the proposals for changing the penal code?

[Czubinski] During this period of overcoming our country's socioeconomic crisis, some crimes such as burglaries, assaults, trade swindles, illegal price hikes, profiteering, and other forms of illegal gains have become particularly harassing for our citizens. This difficult situation is being aggravated the glaring waste, especially of food, and by bad management. Such harmful features result in material losses, make citizens feel insecure, and undermine the principles of social justice.

In order to safeguard the citizens' legitimate interests and to improve court proceedings, we want to create conditions for rapidly handling and trying penal cases and for providing facilities to try some of these cases under summary procedures. We also want to ensure that the regulations governing the temporary arrest of such offenders are tightened to some extent.

CSO: 2600/833

MAJOR HISTORICAL WORKS EVALUATED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 9, 29 Feb 84 p 9

[Article by Alicja Lisiecka: "A History Lesson"]

[Text] I do not remember where I came across the statement that in reading a contemporary exposition of historical viewpoints sometimes it is even possible to identify the color of the historian's hair: for example, that it is blond.

This statement was definitely not conceived by the very talented Norman Davies, author of the recently published in America, although written in London, two-volume history of Poland under the metaphorical title "God's Playground"¹ or even more so by the deceased Oscar Halecki with Antony Polonsky as co-editor. Polonsky brought Halecki's emigrant textbook through the 1970's, adding and publishing in 1978 two chapters "from the most recent past".²

The text of Norman Davies' ambitious work does not reveal the historian's hair color (probably dark blond), nor does it reveal the maliciousness which is sometimes so typical of young people of around 40 who scatter throughout the world collections of articles filled with the ethos of casual strife, written during "breathers", in incomplete sentences, without a particle of historical-philosophic irony. Irony and distance are the traits of the more elegant syntheses published under the sponsorship or patronage of various foreign offices: I am referring to the journalistic monograph entitled "The Polish August", by Neil Ascherson (1981), or the more scientific treatise written by Philip Windsor, entitled "Changes in Western Europe" (1980). The model for certain Polish journalists publishing their polemics abroad is undoubtedly the father of historical invective, the author of three volumes of the "Newest History of Poland", Wladyslaw Pobog-Malinowski.³

This classic of biased, impetuous assessments, stylistically reminiscent--do not be offended--of some high-minded invectives and coarse epithets of the polemics of CZERWONY SZTANDAR [Red Banner] and ROBOTNIK [The Worker] towards the close of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, enjoys great popularity in the extreme rightwing political circles. Jozef Lobodowski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Kazimierz Kozniewski and Wanda Wasilewska (I will avail myself initially of the interpretation of literature in Malinowski's last volume)--are identical literary junk. Equally suspect here are "Rojsty", (which could not appear, as we know, until 1956), "kept in the form of a fictional diary" and "describing, in clumsy literary fashion, the somewhat later

period of the "woodsmen detachments" (p 590), as "a Trotsky-ite criticism of the regime" (quotation from Halecki's "History of Poland" as supplemented by Polonsky, p 366) of Kuron and Michnik, or Jerzy Kornacki's books "imprecise in details, tinged with a strong bias, tiresome in their unrestrained loquacity" (p 365).

Who would have thought that we are talking here about the co-author of "Przedmiescie", the later, after 1961, hero of the press in the West and about the future author of "The Small Apocalypse" and his literary darling in the Warsaw literary salons (see "The Sun's Risings and Settings"), whose essays sent to the West were published recently, under the title "Penser la Pologne", by a publishing house with indeed a slightly "Trotsky-ite" profile, specializing in problems of eastern communism. In any case, Kuron and Modzelewski had already been published in this same series, and also Zinaida Erard's book, "La Pologne: un societe en dissidence".

But let us go from specific literary assessments, which are usually debatable, to the methodological assumptions of these three scientific syntheses, each very different, not only because of the stipulated hair-color and temperament of the authors. (Pobog-Malinowski, in his younger days, probably had fiery, dark hair.)

LET US SIMPLY ASSESS THEIR INFLUENCE ON WESTERN AND POLISH-EMIGRATION PUBLIC OPINION,

their emotional climate in sometimes extreme and most frequently different, than in Poland, assessments. It is difficult in a short discussion to make assumptions as to which of these assessments was used as the basis for an analysis of the newest, postwar history of Poland in England, to delve more deeply into the origin of the substantive, ideological conflict between emigration historians. That is, to an assessment of the basic currents of history-writing on the "between the wars period", which vacillates between the semi-panegyric part of literature abroad or the semi-leaflet (as sometimes, in Poland, the assessment of Pilsudski⁴ and his role in the events of the Second Republic) and the aversion to Dmowski-ism which returns quite instinctively, subconsciously, in the sympathies and interpretations of the later periods.

Daniel Passent recently showed this "instinctive Dmowski-ism" in an article written sub specie "concrete" and "bunker"--the first term refers to the petrified political viewpoints of some of the ideological opponents of democratization in Poland, and I drew the other from the terminology of the Franco years in Spain.

I do not know who at this moment in Poland is Trajan's Pliny or the Malaparte of December 1981. But I know who abroad is continuing the traditions of a "conservatively oriented nobility", acknowledged by Naruszewicz in the poem "To the Slanderers", and I must separate myself from this tendency. Norman Davies' "History", subsidized by the Lanckoronski Foundation abroad, is not close to it and thus evokes another polemic reaction. It avoids rigid qualifications within the limits of objectivism originating from the political-science studies of the Center for International Studies at the London School

of Economic and Political Sciences--Polonsky's "contribution" to the "History of Poland" which is of interest to us. That is why it is difficult to report on Pobog-Malinowski's judgments, in which Poland no longer appears as a tragic "country on wheels", no longer a bloody, messianic specter of Europe, but the pressing cause of headaches in indifferent "courts". In 1774 in London Un Gentilhomme Polonais, using, 200 years earlier, the fashionable-today word "alienation", wrote against these "courts" in writing his history of the princes of Silesia and Auschwitz.

This history, and not just the events of the last decade, which is the object of my interest, Norman Davies calls not too revealingly "an eccentric mixture of Western values" injected into the Slavic world. It is precisely "eccentrism" which, in his opinion, is the guiding motive of all actions by Poles, the governing and the governed, passive and resistant, rulers and oppositionists,⁵ actions which at Harvard seminars are called "madness".

The source for history so-conceived, as a product, to some extent, of national mentality and psychology (a traditional Freudian point of view) is for Davies a magma of facts, interpretations, writings, among which he regards on a par along with Mrozek's plays and articles from the Paris KULTURA, textbook syntheses, statistics, personal narrations, gossip, knowledge from books of authors quoted in perverse pairs: Bromke and Brzezinski, Micewski and Blit. The "strong spirit" and the "potato diet" are the main factors in the development of society, whose nature somewhat reminds Davies of the Irish, and the Catholic faith of Spain. The methodological assumption which is the guiding principle of this essayistic, semi-literary synthesis is not so much an objective interpretation as it is, according to the author, an objective selection of facts. Not unimportant in such an attempt to create a coherent picture of Polish history is the declaration which refers to the instructions of Davies' Polish master craftsmen, particularly professors Kieniewicz and Gieysztor, whose achievements, it is being said in current discussions, Davies is "polemically continuing", but whose historical plan he is filling out with sometimes extremely different viewpoints.

"For my part, I see Poland as an immensely complex phenomenon--both land and state and nation and culture, a community in constant flux forever transmuting its composition, its view of itself and its *raison d'être*; in short, a puzzle with no clear solution." The history of this "enigmatic" land, state, nation, culture and society, is for Davies always a medium for the creative mind, which reminds us of a lying camera, able to photograph only partial truths and never the whole. A metaphor about as banal as the *stendhallian* "mirror at the side of the road", misused in the materialistic theory of reflection after the war.

Davies certainly is not the English *Jasienica* of People's Poland, or a historical philosopher on the scale of Huizinga. He is simply an honest, despite all the little or big mistakes, codifier of the basic facts of our history, who knows well the trap of neutralism. The merit of his synthesis, as compared with the "History of Poland" by Gieysztor, Kieniewicz and others, published in English in 1979, is its colorful, narrative style. Two thick volumes, written more in the form of a collection of synthesizing, general essays,

not reeking of official boredom, but neither exciting anyone with ease of political formulations. The author does not overrate the role of current journalism of this type: the fractional interests and struggles in the historical process; on the other hand, he does not absolutize the economic factor. Despite the appeal of this portrait, it will not satisfy the nervous and ambitious opponents of policy as "an oasis of half-truths and semi-integrity". We saw the whole truth about the year 1956, as described by the fair-haired and dark-haired of later years, a truth often hastily broken down into prime factors most convenient to them, shattered and distorted. In the "Histories" of Poland after 1956, some of its advocates completely forgot the names Gozdziak or Lasota, for example, replacing them with new and more current ones, so that their successors could, in turn, also cross them out as being less appealing for the current moment. The theoreticians of Gomulka's "small stabilization" (Gomulka, according to Davies, lost his authority after 1961, a date which Polonsky regards as one of large improvement between the state and the church) quickly went over to the position of the "small apocalypse" of 1980-1981. The critics of Jasienica's "Jagiellonian Poland" began to stand in opposition to the dismemberments in Polish historiography. The historians of 1968 joined their "elitist" opponents late in the 1970's, converting to an absolute the two usually opposing factors of historical development: the evolution of the national economy and the role of a distinguished individual at the helm. This distinguished individual, whose rule in 1975 was included in the last chapter of Jerzy Topolski's "Dzieje Polski" (Warsaw 1976), written by Antoni Czubinski and entitled "Main Stages and Directions in the Development of People's Poland," was Edward Gierek, who was criticized a few years later. Delays in publishing more recent, even diarists' syntheses, do not help the development of studies in which a scholar engages a moral and political authority.

THE PAMPHLET-TYPE OF HISTORY-WRITING IS OUTDISTANCING US BY FAR, AS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN GREAT BRITAIN,

where not only Margaret Thatcher's fact-filled monographs are multiplying, but also the book-form analyses of groupings, or figures of the ephemeral-type young Laborite Tschachell, or the enfant terrible movement--the lord with the radical program--"Tony" Benn. In the rather slow atmosphere of more interpretation and incessant reinterpretation, the emigration historiography of the Halecki or Pobog-Malinowski type avails itself of too few "author's" historical judgments on the subject of the present day and age, and not always wisely.

The subject of conflicts in these kinds of syntheses is Poland as a member of the European community, invariably Poland of the golden age, the heroic periods, proud, fighting, anti-Russian, isolated in the East, the bulwark of European parliaments with some kind of grievance against them.

Halecki, in a chapter titled "Destruction", sees particularly the birth of People's Poland and the place of Mikolajczyk--and reserves for this Mikolajczyk the negative role of disrupting the emigration after his escape to Washington. On the other hand, Halecki regards the "replacement", as he calls it not too accurately, of Bierut by Cyrankiewicz as one of the "secondary personnel changes in the regime" (p 336). He also expresses himself skeptically on the subject of "materialistic ideology" as to the prospects of the "unaccepted by Germans as a whole" Oder-Neisse boundary.

History in this spirit, on the border of revisionism and negation, could not have been written by Antony Polonsky of the London School of Economics, who never lost any sleep over materialistic ideology or the Oder-Neisse boundary. Polonsky is a secular and materialistic historian of the middle generation, a critic of nationalism, an observer of the growth in Poland of a young apparatus of "ambitious party members", whose "mass advancement in the 1960's brought far-reaching results". The defender, as he describes it, of "liberals" of Jewish origin, activists of the Ochab, Kasman type, and Leopold Unger, whom he erroneously calls the "de facto editor" of ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and Janusz Zarzycki, whom he christened "Jerzy". He reduces to a minimum the role of Polish society and the spontaneous mass processes, accepting as a certainty a history that is slightly demonic, fractional, created by personnel changes, as a result of which continual transformation of the model of state is occurring. The character of the leaders of this state is the reason for "Leninism applied to Polish conditions" (a definition from the Gomulka era). Polonsky does not hesitate to repeat gossip, conjecture, the suppositions of others; but he operates on the principle of dates and facts drawn from the press and fragmentary reports in the West, which does not prevent him from making some mistakes. Mieczyslaw Moczar became Minister of Internal Affairs not in 1964 but in 1965; the positions of the party's secretariat, depreciated by Polonsky, were and still are, in the organizational structure of the PZPR, extremely important; Jerzy Andrzejewski was not at the head of KOR (Committee for Workers' Self-Defense) nor did he found it (p 390); the signatures of the ZLP (Polish Writers' Union) members published at the end of the "list of 34" in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, were not intended to "support" the government or the regime, but were a protest against (and I quote verbatim), "the interference of Radio Free Europe in Poland's internal affairs". I do not know how much the average wage in the country was in 1968, but I think that it was less than 4,200 zlotys (I wonder where Polonsky got this information from); the "more orthodox", according to the historian's description, than Slonimski Iwaszkiewicz, had a given name of Jaroslaw, not Wladyslaw. On page 351 reference is probably being made to a long-forgotten concept --"Straszak" [The Fright] after 1956, the so-called "immanent evil of socialism", which in English is not translated as "immense". Other of Polonsky's thoughts could be enhanced by quotations and an analysis of M. F. Rakowski's books, "Rzeczpospolita na Progu Lat Osiemdziatych" (The Republic on the Threshold of the 1980's), Warsaw, 1981, and particularly "Przesilenie Grudniowe" (The December Turning Point), Warsaw, 1981, where the mechanism of party functioning and the psychology of its leaders were reported on "from the inside".

An attempt at a general structuralization of relations in the triangle authority-church-society, supplemented by many detailed reports, begs for a discussion on the part of all those interested in the genesis of events during 1980-1982. In a situation where the educational role in the latest history of Poland is being played by the volumes of recollections written "in the heat of the moment", often published abroad, and the ad hoc edited collective publications drawing mainly from publicity materials in SURVEY and other non-Polish centers of information, every article and book which makes an attempt to reevaluate the historical legacy of postwar Poland, still being discovered anew and being subjected to the assessment of successive generations--in films, monographs, conversations with "witnesses of history", is valuable. The former

tendency to disregard the achievements of the Second Republic as being bourgeois or actually "fascist", has given way to attempts at a hasty interpretation of the later events, an interpretation that is tempting to the younger generation and to us all, a demonological idea of manipulating society, from which Henryk Zielinski cuts himself off, in discussing the 1914 to 1936 years,⁶ but which is fascinated by the temptation to dramatize emotion in relation to disliked persons and governments. Well, every generation has its heroes, its *bete noires*, its myths and its idiosyncracies. An entire literature has been produced in Poland on the subject of myths of the war generation.

THE CHANGE OF THE GUARD AFTER 1956 GAVE THE EMIGRATION A NEW OUTLOOK ON POLISH EVENTS, ONE MORE OPEN NOW TO THE REALITIES "BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN", COMPLETELY DISREGARDED AT ONE TIME.

The young cadre of historians are forming new interests, not so much in the theory of the "withering away" of the state as in the problems of its existence. A more objective interpretation of the policy of Pilsudski--who, according to the description of the emigrant historian Janusz Jedrzejewicz, came out against the pragmatic and fractional "assemblers of the party machine in order to ensure a relevant authority, the common interest of the group, employing mottoes and slogans meant for today's events".⁷

A state idea, its understanding and interpretation in a new society of Poles, forming after the war. The traditions of this idea in contemporary historical practice and contemporary journalistic "preaching", in its most official, or the reverse, oppositional, edition. The example of Pilsudski, or the earlier referred-to instinctive Dmowski-ism, of certain representatives of the christian-democratic current, whose rebirth the observers of the downfall of Solidarity are reporting in a specific manner--all of this evokes a still-incomplete response, indefinite thus far in the factual textbooks and foreign reports. Firsthand knowledge, arrivals in the west, Polish transmissions, and stories of witnesses, play a large part in them.⁸

BUT THE WITNESSES TO HISTORY ARE DYING, AND THEIR VOICES DISAPPEAR IN THE MERCILESS PROCESS OF ANNIHILATING VALUES NOT RECORDED IN PRINT.

What remains is the national memory and the writings--those in pamphlet and diary form and the more reliable ones, the textbooks, renewed with the accompaniment of various feelings or comments: with insufficiency, anger at the author, patriotic rage, with partial acceptance. Would that anger, insufficiency and acceptance become the intellectual spark for new syntheses, an incentive for the younger generation of future historians, perhaps not such much the cross dark-haired ones or the "enraged" or refined fair-haired ones, as simply the Garlickis, Wladyks, Polonskys or Davies's--and I am not ashamed to add, the young Jasienicas. May fate give them a better life than it gave the author of "Poland of the Piasts, Poland of the Jagiellons". In any case, an easier life.

P.S. Now I remember! The revelatory thought--the recommendation for critics on the subject of the hair color of the writer--belongs to Witold Gombrowicz. It is that statement which Jerzy Jarzelski recalled recently in quoting his "Dziennik" [Daily].

FOOTNOTES

1. Norman Davies, "God's Playground; A History of Poland," Vol I. "The Origins to 1795," 605 pp; Vol II. "1795 to the Present," 725 pp. New York. Columbia University Press.
2. O. Halecki, "A History of Poland." With additional material by Antony Polonsky, 40 pp. London, 1978.
3. The viewpoints discussed in this article are cited mainly from: Wladyslaw Pobog-Malinowski, "The Newest Political History of Poland, 1864-1945." Vol III (part 2 of Vol II), "The 1939-1945 Period," 331 pp. Second edition, London, 1981.
4. Still alive, and not at all anachronistic, among today's emigrant factions in London, is the tradition of stubborn disputes around the figure and thoughts of Pilsudski. Even in books like the "Kurier" (Courier From Warsaw) the traditional rancorous interpretation is voiced. Not without significance in this interpretation is the skeptical relation of Pilsudski to the Western "allies". The author of "Kurier", ostensibly criticizing the myth of alliances, expresses the unshakeable conviction that the fates of Polish wars are decided in the West.
5. "From the ideological point of view, the leaders of KOR--Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuron, and the octogenarian economist, Edward Lipinski, hold eccentric leftwing or Marxist opinions which arouse little enthusiasm among the population at large." Norman Davies, op cit, p 630.
6. Henryk Zielinski, "Historia Polski, 1914-1939," Wroclaw, 1983, p 477.
7. Janusz Jedrzejewicz, "Mysl Panstwowa Pilsudskiego w Okresie 1918-1935" (Pilsudski's Ideas of State During 1918-1935). Lecture, 27 July 1949 in London, in the series "Contemporary Ideas. Social and Political Movements", London, Montreal, 1958. (Manuscript copyrights) p 14.
8. See Hanna and Tadeusz Jedruszczak, "Ostatnie Lata Rzeczypospolitej, 1935-1939," (The Last Years of the Republic, 1935-1939), Warsaw, 1970. A popular monograph in which the source of information is quoted as being the appearance in a radio discussion abroad in 1939 of T. Bielecki, St. Mikolajczyk, and St. Kopanski. According to "Na Antenie" [On the Airwaves], 2 September 1965.

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CSO: 2600/788

URBAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

LD281242 Warsaw PAP in English 1103 GMT 28 Mar 84

[Text] Warsaw, 27 March--Polish Government spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban told foreign journalists at a news conference today that the government would soon specify its tasks ensuing from the national conference of PUWP delegates and would prepare a plan of work in this sphere. He said the outcome of the 9th UPP [United Peasant Party] Congress would give a similar impulse to government work.

The elections of the authorities of higher schools have begun, Urban continued. They will be a test of the value of the social accord which resulted in the law on higher schools. The state side has kept its vows. Legal acts have been issued to make the implementation of the law fully possible. The election procedures are based to a considerable extent on the statutes of given higher schools. Out of the 54 higher schools subordinated to the Ministry of Science, Education and Technology, 46 have their statutes already approved and 8 will have them approved soon.

Urban stressed that the elections and, later on, the performance of the new authorities would show whether all the academic communities would be willing to keep the social accord, act in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the law on higher schools.

Minister Urban said that attempts at exploiting the self-government for purposes opposing the state politically and programmatically would undermine the system of self-government in higher schools. Simultaneously, the effects of this action will run counter to the whole process of reforms in Poland.

I am mentioning this in connection with some reports from Warsaw by Western correspondents trying to heat up the atmosphere and writing about "tightening the screw," about "special repressions" in the sphere of life represented by science and culture, and about conflicts. Reports of this type expose a sort of wishful thinking rather than reflect the reality. Unfortunately, we are constantly dealing with lying in wait for conflict, and when there are no conflicts, there is preying on seeming conflicts or second-rate ones.

Next, Jerzy Urban corrected part of untrue reports, including one given by some news agencies about alleged searches carried out by police in the Jagiellonian

University in Krakow. They were untrue reports, said he. The searches did take place but in private apartments of some Jagiellonian University staffers suspected of underground activities.

In line with the propaganda tendency which is characteristic of the Western press, the stories were right away combined with reports on "road blocks" in and around Krakow as part of a sweeping operation against underground structures. Various facts are being plainly combined into one whole for short-lived goals.

In Krakow, there was an operation against black-market dealers, there were checks of empty-going trucks, and right after that this fact grew in press reports to the rank of a political action. This is one of many instances of discretionary association of facts for inciting presentation of the situation in Poland.

There is still another report from Warsaw filed a couple of days ago. It says that during a local conflict at Mietne the school authorities violated the International Convention on Human Rights signed by Poland in December 1966.

Well, a respective and only article of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights related to this issue (namely, Article 18 point 4) has the following wording:

"The states-parties to this pact vow to respect the liberty of the parents or, in particular cases, legal guardians to provide religious and moral education for their children in line with their own beliefs."

I think no one can make a charge that families or guardians in Poland have no possibilities to raise their children and youth in keeping their own world outlook. Urban added that school classes were not opening at Mietne.

In a reply to a question Jerzy Urban said that, in accordance with the figures made available last 23 March, 427 persons were in prisons or under arrest for politically-motivated offences--58 of the persons are serving their sentences under valid court verdicts (and not 244 as has been reported in the West) and 369 are under investigative arrest.

Answering a question about details from the latest meeting of the Joint Government-Episcopate Commission, the government spokesman stressed that the government side thought the talks had been good.

Urban warned Western corespondents against continuous declaration of a "crisis" in state-church relations on every handy occasion. I have never said that differences in opinion on various issues have not been showing in state-church relations. It can be assumed in advance that difference in views will continue to emerge, but some Western correspondents are displaying an extreme haste in declaring a crisis.

We, the Poles, get the feeling that some correspondents are impatiently lying in wait for our troubles, said Urban.

MINISTER ASSESSES PARTY'S ROLE IN AIDING STATE APPARATUS

PM301419 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 12 Mar 84 p 3

[Interview with Prof Zygmunt Rybicki, under secretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers, by INTERPRESS correspondent Teresa Kwasniewska--date, place not given]

[Text] Kwasniewska: Professor, the latest conference organized by the PZPR Central Committee Higher School of Social Sciences and the Institute for the Organization, Management, and Further Training of Cadres operating at the Office of the Council of Ministers was devoted to the question of the party's role in steering and activating the work of the local power and administrative apparatus. This topic is particularly important today....

Rybicki: Especially as we are now embarking on an election campaign preceding elections to the local organs of state administration, that is, people's councils, besides being on the eve of the National Party Conference [16-18 March] and also awaiting the introduction--scheduled for 1 July--of the new law on people's councils and the local self-government system. Consequently, the following issues are crucial for the party just now: the range and the forms of the influence which the party can exert on the functioning of the state apparatus, the nonstate, self-governing, mass-membership social institutions, the organs of the patriotic movement for national rebirth, and the self-government bodies organized by the inhabitants of towns and villages.

Kwasniewska: Speaking in concrete terms, on what issues should party structures concentrate their attention in the task of imparting a political character to the policy line pursued by the local authorities?

Rybicki: The crux of the matter lies in the extent to which the system of the execution of power hinders, or facilitates, the expression of the citizens' interests, aspirations, and strivings, the extent to which the working people are able to express their interests within the framework of its democratic institutions, and the extent to which the system is geared to serving its citizens' needs. Party structures are, on the one hand, faced with the task of ensuring that the state apparatus guarantees a correct realization of the socialist foundations of our sociopolitical system that have been written into our constitution and, on the other hand, obliged to ensure that everything which constitutes our society's expectations is the main subject of the daily activity

of that apparatus. They must ensure that it can find its expression both in the socioeconomic plans and in the way it influences the regular, relationship between the citizen and the proverbial official instance, the latter meant here to signify all the institutions which discharge their functions in the name of the state. Finally they must ensure that there is effective control over the extent to which the state apparatus accomplishes these goals from the viewpoint of the basic ideological and political premises.

The methods and the forms of this activity are extremely complex. For we are only able to define the practical meaning of "activating" when it concerns questions of overall policy on a nationwide, or even voivodship, scale. But the nearer we come to the basic cells the greater the need for concrete terms and for calling a spade a spade.

The most important format of directing the political aspect of the work of the local organs entrusted with the exercise of power must consist in daily collaboration, in a joint daily effort to carry out one's tasks. Party members who also belong to people's councils can do a lot here. And, as we are about to launch the elections, the question of the quality of those party members who will enter people's councils--and of the experience which they have gained so far from their local activity and their work in self-government organs--becomes more and more important. Another question is that of determining the cadre of party members who will enter the local organs of state administration and there realize in practical terms the tasks faced by the party in relation to the state apparatus.

Kwasniewska: It has been frequently stressed in many speeches and addresses that the present system of the exercise of power has many loopholes and shortcomings. People spoke, for example, about the inadequacy of the present mechanism for the exercise of power in relation to the new social requirements. What direction, then, should be adopted in the effort to perfect and reform the system for the exercise of power?

Rybicki: The whole problem can be reduced to the question whether society's aspirations and expectations are realistic when confronted with the existing possibilities and whether they are accompanied by energetic activity on the part of those who formulate these aspirations and expectations. The state, as a form of organization of society, cannot accomplish anything in isolation from society. It can organize its actions, but without active involvement--both professional and social--on the part of all citizens, all their expectations will remain in the sphere of wishful thinking. Hence, again, the role of the party must be first of all to be able to correctly recognize society's needs and, in the second place, to rank them according to their hierarchy. For these may be different for different regions.

Kwasniewska: So there is no room here for schematism?

Rybicki: No. And it is not possible to predetermine priorities which can be applicable everywhere, in every parish, town and other locality. Let us, for example, consider the question of health protection, or that of housing: These do enjoy a certain overall national priority. But in every locality they

will--as they must--be solved in a different way. The method of formulating and carrying out the actual tasks must vary depending on the circumstances.

Another thing which I would like to emphasize is the question of a dialogue with society. The question of pointing out various possibilities and methods of augmenting them. Hence the necessity of developing the system of local self-government. Hence the considerable role of active social involvement, of joint community actions, of undertakings such as the "best parish" competitions, and so on. And so we need to demonstrate the needs, the realistic possibilities of answering the needs (although these will always outgrow the possibilities), and the ways in which we can increase the chances for their fulfillment. Let us stop playing at being mere onlookers, mere spectators, and let us commit ourselves to making use of our skills and our efforts. Nothing can be achieved without us. In this dialogue both sides must be active.

The currently observed increase of consumerism is an adverse phenomenon. Perhaps this is caused by the excessive centralization of the mechanism of power, the way in which the lower structures and cells have become, as it were, relieved of all competence and responsibility. But I would like to stress the fact again that the administrative apparatus will never function properly if it is not properly established within society, if it is not actively assisted by all of us--the citizens.

CSO: 2600/845

LATE PROTEST WRITER'S WORK REHABILITATED

AU031435 [Editorial Report] Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish on 29 March on page 4 carries a 500-word review by Bogdan Loszewski of a novel by Marek Hlasko, a short-story protest writer who died in exile in the United States in 1969, entitled "Burn Rice Every Day," which is now being posthumously published in Poland with an accompanying biography by Bogdan Rudnicki. The reviewer states that the novel, whose title in Polish is "Palcie ryz kazdego dnia," is being published "on the basis of a manuscript that was in the possession of the writer's mother." He also says that the novel "was written in the United States," where Hlasko had chosen to live in exile after the 1958 publication of his "Cmentarze" [Cemeteries] book. The reviewer deals with the controversy that greeted Hlasko's first book "Pierwszy krok w chmurach" [The First Step in the Clouds] by beginning his review with the following introduction: "To the young generation of Poles, Marek Hlasko is a mythical figure, working, that is, on the assumption that he is known to them at all. The reason for this is, of course, the constant absence of the books of the author of 'Pierwszy krok w chmurach,' on the book market (since the last collection of collected short stories appeared in 1976) and this is why the appearance of the novel 'Palcie ryz kazdego dnia' published by the State Publishing Institute [1983], and Bogdan Rudnicki's biography of the author, neither of which have ever appeared before, has constituted its own kind of literary event."

The reviewer praises Hlasko's talent and what he calls the "first, important step to return this undisputably most talented of all prose-writer in the history of Polish postwar history to Polish readers."

CSO: 2600/846

SLOVENE LC BODY URGES STEPS ON CRITICAL PRESS

AU031617 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 84 p 3

[A. D. report]

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Mar--The discussion of the Commission for Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia was devoted to cadre problems in journalism and to current developments, as well as to the implementation of the conclusions of the sessions of the LCY Central Committee and the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia on information activity and propaganda.

It was assessed that the public information media on the whole carry out their tasks and play their role in society well. However, individuals are appearing who want to launch already obsolete dilemmas and who are imposing themselves as "spokesmen for the people," as opposed to the other, "regime" journalists and institutions who they claim manipulate the public.

In this connection, the question arises as to whether their manner of work is also a manipulation of the public, because what is involved, in fact, is a narrow circle of individuals who also want to present their positions as the "people's will."

For this reason the initiative was made that a broad discussion should begin within the framework of the Slovene Journalist Association on the so-called "alternative journalism." All journalists should include themselves in the discussion and they should take a clear position, and an ideological differentiation is also necessary--it is necessary to clearly set the boundaries between constructive criticism and certain tendencies, either liberalistic or certain others. At the same time, it is necessary to settle accounts with the opportunistic behavior of the individuals and certain collectives.

The problem of the tabloid KAJ and yellow journalism in general was again raised in the discussion. A discussion on this problem will also be held in the Journalist Association. The need was also stressed that the financial position of information dailies, such as for instance VECER, should be solved in a different way and not by their publishing yellow press.

It was also noted that the student newspaper TRIBUNA had not changed its style of writing (and the last issue, which carries on its front and back page "Yugoslavia's Death Announcement," testifies to this). The question arises as to where are the limits of what is allowed and where is the patriotic awareness of the young people editing this newspaper.

Because of their insufficient knowledge and a lack of understanding for the social contradictions the individuals exaggerate with their "heroic" moves and thus they demand that the forces should appear on the scene that certainly will not contribute to progress and self-management--it was stressed at the session of the commission.

CSO: 2800/273

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

NOMINEES FOR CROATIAN POSTS--At yesterday's meeting of the Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Croatia candidates were nominated for several responsible posts in the republic for the next period. Cedomir Paic was nominated candidate for president of the Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Croatia for a 1-year term of office, Jaksa Petric was nominated candidate for president of the presidency of the SR of Croatia, and Ante Markovic was nominated candidate for president of the Executive Council of the Assembly for another 2-year term of office. Two candidates--Ivo Latin and Vlado Mihaljevic--were nominated for the post of president of the Assembly of the SR of Croatia, and also two candidates for other posts in the Assembly: Ivo Vrhovec and Ivica Fekete for vice president of the Assembly, Vojislav Vuckovic and Dragica Bolic for president of the Chamber of Associated Labor, Mihalj Gluhak and Rudi Jelic for president of the Chamber of Communes, and Milorad Viskic and Ciril Grabovac for president of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly. [R. A. report] [Text] [AU031547 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 84 p 6]

CSO: 2800/273

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